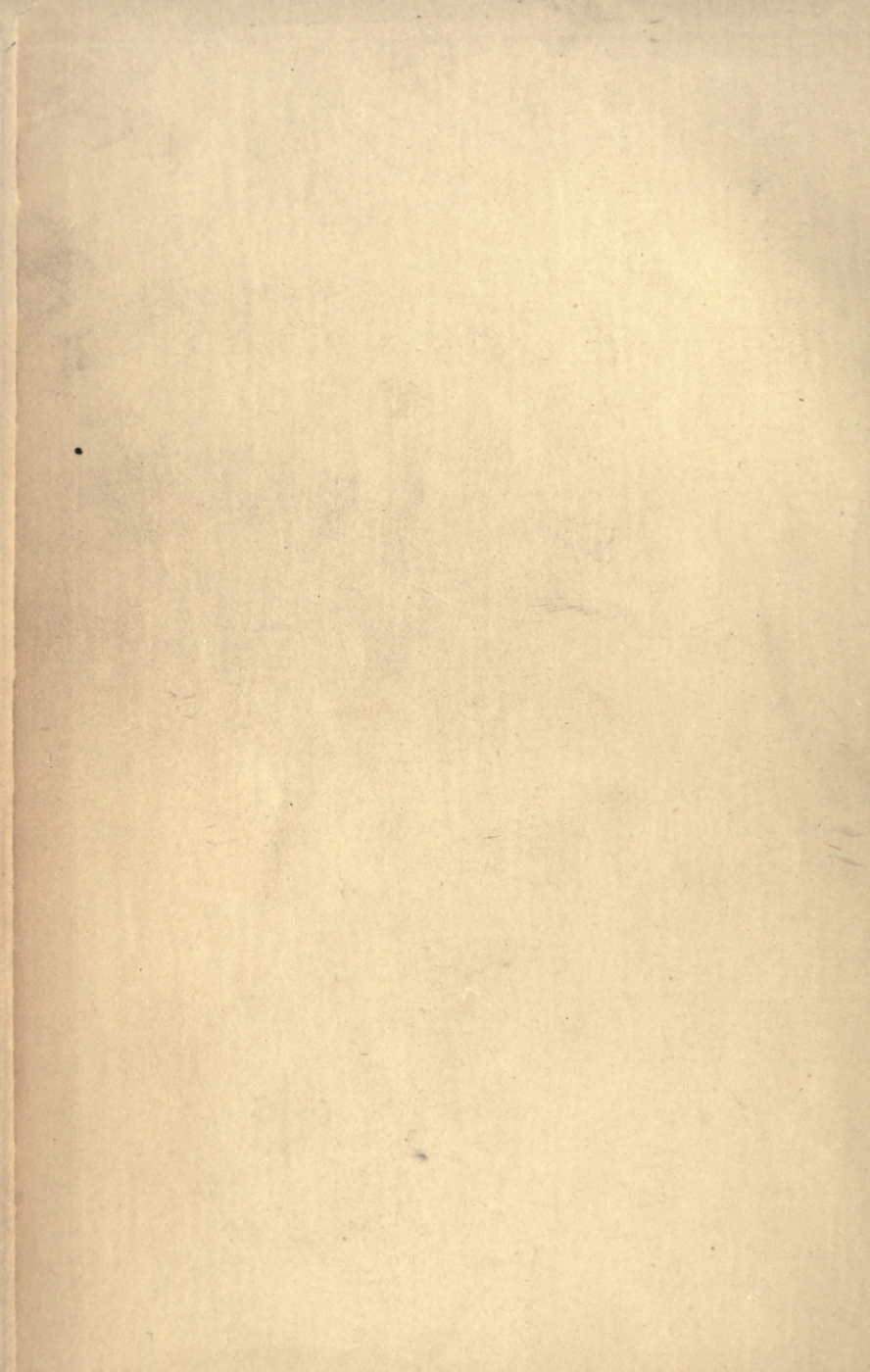


OF
NTO
ARY



“ Ducit Amor Patriae ”

TRANSACTION NO. 1.

Niagara Historical Society.

BATTLE OF FORT GEORGE

A PAPER READ ON MARCH 14TH, 1896, BY

ERNEST CRUIKSHANK

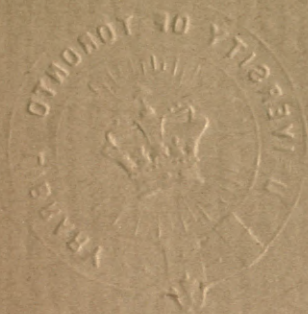
CAPT. 44TH BATTALION.

NIAGARA :

PICKWELL BROS., BOOK AND JOB PRINTERS.

1896.

5-80 11
30/9/02



F

5545

NS2.N52

v.1-8

PREFACE.

The reproach has frequently been cast upon us that Canada has no history; it might be said of us with far more justice that we do not know our own history. The various historical societies are, by their efforts, trying to wipe away this reproach, and we feel proud of following in the wake of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society in publishing a paper written by Capt. Cruikshank, who has well earned the title of the historian of the Niagara peninsula.

Of the towns of Ontario not one we are sure possesses a history so eventful, so ancient, so interesting as Niagara, having been at different times a legislative, an educational, a military and a commercial centre, at one time occupied by the enemy and again a heap of smoking ruins, now a quiet summer resort with many points of historical interest, with wide streets shaded by old elms and having unrivalled lake and river scenery. The members of the youngest of these Historical Societies feel that they may congratulate themselves on being able to place in the hands of the public the story which so far has not yet been told of the Taking of Fort George, told too in a style so clear, so dispassionate, and shewing such deep research, a story of troublesome times, which so told can not but be helpful to old and young of every nationality.

Asking for our first venture a kind reception we send it out to the public, hoping that it may do its part in proving that we have a not ignoble history which should inspire us to yet nobler deeds.

BATTLE OF FORT GEORGE.

27TH MAY, 1813.

For about a quarter of a century Niagara was the principal town and commercial capital of Western Canada, and for a brief period was actually the seat of government for the Upper Province. The removal of the provincial officers to York in 1796 struck the first blow at its supremacy, but its material prosperity continued until the beginning of the war with the United States when its exposed situation subjected it to a series of calamities which culminated in its total destruction on the 10th of December, 1813.

During that time many travellers of more or less note visited the place at short intervals on their way to or from the Falls, and a considerable number of them have recorded their observations. Patrick Campbell in 1791, D'Arcy Bolton in 1794, the Duke de Rochefoucauld Liancourt in 1795, Isaac Weld and J. C. Ogden in 1796, John Maude in 1800, George Heriot in 1806, Christian Schultz in 1807, John Melish in 1810 and Michael Smith in 1812 have described the town and adjacent country at considerable length from various points of view. Other accounts are to be found in the *National Intelligencer* newspaper published at Washington, D. C., in 1812, and in Smith's *Gazetteer of Upper Canada* for 1813. From these numerous sources it would seem an easy task to form a fairly correct estimate of the appearance of the town, its commercial importance and the character of the inhabitants.

It is described as being nearly a mile square, sparsely built, with many pasture fields, gardens, orchards and open spaces interspersed among the houses. Smith, an American resident of the province now was expelled in 1812 for having declined to take oath of allegiance, states that there were 'several squares of ground in the village adorned with almost every kind of precious fruit.' According to the same authority it contained two churches—one of them built of stone, a court house and jail, an Indian council house, an academy in which Latin and Greek were taught by the Rev. John Burns a Presbyterian minister, a printing house, six taverns, twenty stores and about a hundred dwelling houses, many of them described as "handsome buildings of brick or stone, the rest being of wood, neatly painted." From the lake the town is said to have made an "imposing appearance" as most of the buildings fronted the water. Smith concludes his account with the remark that it was "a beautiful and prospective place, inhabited by civil and in lustrious people." Dr. John Mann, a surgeon in the

United States army who accompanied the invading forces and afterwards wrote the "Medical History of the War," styles it "a delightful village."

The population was probably underestimated at five hundred exclusive of the regular garrison of Fort George, usually numbering about two hundred men. The names of John Symington, Andrew Heron, Joseph Edwards, John Grier, John Baldwin and James Muirhead have been recorded as some of the principal merchants.

An open plain or common of nearly a mile in width separated the town from Fort George. This post was described by the Governor General in the early summer of 1812, in official report on the defences of Upper Canada as an irregular fieldwork consisting of six small bastions faced with framed timber and plank, connected by a line of palisades twelve feet high, and surrounded by a shallow dry ditch. Its situation and construction were alike condemned as extremely defective. Although it partially commanded Fort Niagara it was in turn overlooked and commanded by the high ground on the opposite side of the river near Youngstown. The troops were lodged in blockhouses inside affording quarters for 220 men, besides which there was a spacious building for the officers. The magazine was built of stone with an arched roof but was not considered bombproof. All the works were very much out of repair and reported as scarcely capable of the least defence.

On the margin of the river immediately in front of the fort stood a large log building known as Navy Hall, which had been constructed during the American Revolution, to serve as winter-quarters for the officers and seamen of the Provincial vessels on Lake Ontario. Near this was a spacious wharf with good-sized store houses, both public and private. The Ranger's Barracks, also built of logs, and an Indian Council House were situated on the further edge of the common, just south of the town. A small stone light house had been built upon Mississauga Point, in 1805-6.

The road leading along the river to Queenston, was thickly studded with farm buildings, and the latter village is said to have contained nearly a hundred houses, many of them being large and well built structures of stone or brick, with a population estimated at 300. Vessels of fifty tons and upwards, loaded with goods for the upper country, sailed up the river to this place, where they discharged their cargoes, and took in furs and grain in return. Ever since its establishment, the "Carrying Place" on the Canadian side of the river, had furnished much profitable employment to the neighboring farmers, who were paid at the rate of twenty pence, New York currency, a hundred weight for hauling goods between Queenston and Chippawa; Maude relates that during his visit in 1800, he passed many carts and wagons on this road, taking up boxes and bales of merchandise, or bringing down furs, each drawn by two horses or two yoke of oxen. Three schooners were then moored at the wharf at Queenston,

and fourteen teams stood waiting to be loaded. Others had noticed as many as fifty or sixty teams passing each other in a day. At this time the old portage on the American bank was entirely dis-used, but in 1806 the exclusive rights to the carrying place on that side were granted to Porter, Barton & Co., and much of the traffic was consequently diverted.

Christian Schultz, tells us that in 1807, the Canadian side of the river was "one settled street, from Lake Ontario to La'Ve Erie," while the other was still almost wholly "waste and uninhabited," which he attributes chiefly to the fact, that the land on the American bank was entirely held by speculators. The villages of Chippawa and Fort Erie contained about twenty houses each. For upwards of twenty miles back, he states that the country was pretty well settled from lake to lake. A stage coach made three round trips weekly between Niagara and Fort Erie. A considerable sum from the Provincial Treasury was annually spent in opening and improving roads. Frenchman's, Miller's and Black creeks were bridged only on the river road, but there was a bridge across Lyon's creek, at Cook's Mills, and the Chippawa was bridged at its mouth, and at Brown's sixteen miles^s higher up. From the Portage Road near the Falls, a continuation of Lundy's Lane led westerly through the Beechwoods and Beaver Dam settlements, crossed the Twelve Mile creek at De Cew's, and following the crest of the mountain to the Twenty, ascended that stream as far as a small hamlet, known as "Asswago" and finally united with the main road from Niagara to York near Stoney Creek. Another well travelled road from Queenston passed through St. Davids, and joined the Lake Road from Niagara at Shipman's tavern, where they crossed the Twelve Mile Creek on the present site of the city of St Catharines. A third leading from Niagara through the dreaded "Black Swamp," of which all trace has long since disappeared, united with the road from St. Davids before crossing the Four Mile creek. Still another beginning near the mouth of the Two Mile creek, ran nearly parallel with the river, till it intersected Lundy's Lane. Besides these there were the main travelled roads along the river from Queenston to Niagara, and along the lake from Niagara to Burlington.

In 1794, Lieutenant Governor Simcoe styled the Niagara settlement "the bulwark of Upper Canada," and affirmed that the militia were loyal to a man, and "very well calculated for offensive warfare." Since then the character and feelings of the population had been essentially altered. Many of the first settlers had died or removed with their families to other parts of the Province, and their places had been taken by later immigrants from the United States. The twenty townships extending from Ancaster to Wainfleet, which then composed the County of Lincoln, were supposed to contain 12,000 inhabitants in the spring of 1812. In the entire province of Upper Canada, one-sixth of the population were believed to be natives of the British Isles and their children; the original loyalist settlers and

their descendants were estimated to number as many more, while the remainder, or about two-thirds of the whole, were recent arrivals from the United States, chiefly attracted by the fertility of the soil and freedom from taxation. Michael Smith states (1813), that within twelve years, the population "had increased beyond conjecture, as the terms of obtaining land have been extremely easy." The proportion of loyalists in the County of Lincoln was perhaps greater than elsewhere, but it is probably a safe estimate to say that one-third of the inhabitants were recent settlers from the United States, who had removed to escape taxation or avoid militia service. John Maude met several families in 1800 on their way to Canada from those counties in Pennsylvania, where the 'Whiskey Insurrection' had just been suppressed who informed him that "they had fought seven years against taxation, and were then being taxed more than ever. Hundreds of them "he remarked" have removed, are removing, and will remove into Upper Canada, where they will form a nest of vipers in the bosom that fosters them.

In 1811, the Governor General estimated the number of militiamen in Upper Canada fit for service at 11,000, of whom he significantly stated that it would probably not be prudent to arm more than 4000. This was virtually an admission, that more than half the population were suspected of disaffection. The Lincoln Militia were organized in five regiments, numbering about 1,500 men, of whom perhaps two-thirds were determined loyalists.

In many quarters before the war, the disaffection of the people was open and undisguised. Schultz states that while at Presqu'le, on Lake Ontario, in 1807, he strolled along the main road, and found six or seven farmers assembled in a country tavern, who had just heard of the Chesapeake affair. "They seemed disappointed," he observed "that I did not think it would lead to war, when they expected to become part of the United States." He also relates that he was subsequently in a public house in Niagara, where eight or ten persons were gathered about a billiard table. The attack upon the Chesapeake again became the topic of conversation, and one man said, "If Congress will only send us a flag and a proclamation declaring that whoever is found in arms against the United States, shall forfeit his lands, we will fight ourselves free without any expense to them."

John Melish declared his conviction from enquiries made during his visit in 1810, "that if 5000 men were sent into Upper Canada with a proclamation of independence, the great mass of the people would join the American Government." Barnabas Bidwell, formerly Attorney General of Massachusetts, who had become a defaulter and fled to the Newcastle District, near the Bay of Quinte, where he was engaged in teaching a private school, wrote secretly to his political friends in a similar strain.

These statements were eagerly quoted, and no doubt believed by the

leaders of the war party in Congress. Henry Clay assured the people that "the conquest of Canada is in your power. I trust I shall not be deemed presumptuous when I state that I verily believe that the Militia of Kentucky are alone competent to place Montreal and Upper Canada at your feet."

On the 6th of March, 1812, Calhoun expressed equal confidence. "So far from being unprepared, Sir," he exclaimed, "I believe that four weeks from the time the declaration of war is heard on our frontier, the whole of Upper Canada and a part of Lower Canada will be in our possession."

Jefferson wrote about the same time that "The acquisition of Canada this year as far as the neighborhood of Quebec, would be a mere matter of marching, and would give us experience for the attack of Halifax, the next and the final expulsion of England from the American continent."

Mr. Eustis, the Secretary of War, was if possible, still more optimistic, "We can take Canada without soldiers," he declared, "we have only to send officers into the Province and the people disaffected to their own Government will rally round our standard." Gen. Widgery, a representative in Congress, gained momentary notoriety by his statement. "I will engage to take Canada by contract. I will raise a company and take it in six weeks." Another speaker declared that "Niagara Falls could be resisted with as much success as the American people when roused into action." After the declaration of war had been promulgated, Clay, the speaker of the House of Representatives, and the real leader of the war party solemnly declared that he would never consent to any treaty of peace which did not provide for the cession of Canada.

The correspondence of General Brock with the Governor General, shows that in many respects these expectations were well founded, and that he was far from being hopeful of offering a successful defence without strong reinforcements.

"The late increase of ammunition and every species of stores," he wrote on the 2nd December, 1811, "the substitution of a strong regiment and the appointment of a military person to the government, have tended to infuse other sentiments among the most reflecting part of the community, and during my visit to Niagara last week I received most satisfactory professions of a determination on the part of the principal inhabitants to exert every means in their power for the defence of their property and to support the government. They look with confidence to you for aid. Although perfectly aware of the number of improper characters who have obtained possessions and whose principles diffuse a spirit of insubordination very adverse to all military institutions, I believe the majority will prove faithful. It is best to act with the utmost liberality and as if no mistrust existed. Unless the inhabitants give a faithful aid it will be utterly impossible to preserve the province, with the limited number of military."

On the 24th of February, 1812, a proclamation was published announcing

that divers persons had recently come into the province with a seditious intent and to endeavor to alienate the minds of His Majesty's subjects," and directing the officers appointed to enforce the act lately passed by the Legislature for the better security of the province against all seditious attempts" to be vigilant in the discharge of their duties. Joseph Edwards of Niagara, Samuel Street of Willoughby, Thomas Dickson of Queenston, William Crooks of Grimsby and Samuel Hutt of Ancaster were among the persons commissioned to execute this law.

On the 17th of April, a boy at Queenston fired a shot across the river which happily did no injury. He was promptly arrested and committed for trial, and two resident magistrates, James Kirby and Robert Grant, tendered an apology to the inhabitants of Lewiston for his offence. Five days later General Brock reported that a body of three hundred men in plain clothes had been seen patrolling the American side of the river. On the 25th, it was announced that 170 citizens of Buffalo, had volunteered for military service. A proclamation by President Madison calling out one hundred thousand was published about the same time, and the Governor of New York was required to send 500 men to the Niagara which he hastened to do, being a warm advocate of the war.

Meanwhile the flank companies of militia regiments of the counties of Lincoln, Norfolk and York were embodied by General Brock, and drilled six times a month. They numbered about 700 young men belonging to "the best class of settlers." By the recent Militia Act, they were required to arm and clothe themselves, and as many of them had far to travel, Brock begged that they should at least receive an allowance for rations.

The Governor General suggested that the Government of the United States entertained hopes that something might happen to provoke a quarrel between its soldiers and the British troops on that frontier, and desired him to take every precaution to prevent any such pretext for hostilities.

Early in May, Brock made a rapid tour of inspection along the Niagara, thence to the Mohawk village on the Grand river, returning to York by way of Ancaster. He reported that the people generally seemed well disposed and that the flank companies had mustered in full strength.

By the 17th of June six hundred American militia were stationed along the river, and a complaint was made by three reputable inhabitants of Fort Erie that their sentries were in the habit of wantonly firing across the stream. On the 25th of the same month this period of suspense was terminated by the arrival of a special messenger employed by Mr. Astor and other American citizens interested in the Northwest furtrade, to convey the earliest possible information of war to Colonel Thomas Clark, of Queenston, who immediately reported his intelligence to the commandant of Fort Erie. The messenger, one Vosburg, of Albany, had travelled with relays of horses at such speed that he outrode the official courier bearing despatches to Fort

Niagara by fully twenty-four hours. On his return he was arrested at Canandaigua, and held to bail together with some of his employers, but it does not appear that they were ever brought to trial.

Lieut. Gansevoort and a sergeant in the United States Artillery, who happened to be on the Canadian side were made prisoners, and the ferry boats plying across the river at Queenston and Fort Erie, were seized by the British troops at those places. The people of Buffalo received their first intimation of the declaration of war by witnessing the capture of a merchant schooner off the harbor by boats from Fort Erie.

The flank companies of militia marched immediately to the frontier, and were distributed along the river in taverns and farm houses. On the second day, General Brock arrived from York, with the intention of making an attack on Fort Niagara. He had then at his disposal, 400 of the 41st Regiment, and nearly 800 militia. Success was all but certain, as the garrison was weak and inefficient. His instructions however, were to act strictly on the defensive, and he abandoned this project in the conviction that the garrison might be driven out at any time by a vigorous cannonade. Rumors of his design seem to have reached General P. B. Porter, who commanded the militia force on the other side, and he made an urgent demand for reinforcements.

"The British on the opposite side are making the most active preparations for defence," Benjamin Barton wrote from Lewiston on the 24th of June, "New troops are arriving from the Lower Province constantly, and the quantity of military stores etc. that have arrived within these few weeks is astonishing. Vast quantities of arms and ammunition are passing up the country, no doubt to arm the Indians around the Upper Lakes, (for they have not white men enough to make use of such quantities as are passing). One-third of the militia of the Upper Province are formed into companies called flankers, and are well armed and equipped out of the King's stores. and are regularly trained one day in a week by an officer of the standing troops. A volunteer troop of horse has lately been raised and have drawn their sabres and pistols. A company of militia artillery has been raised this spring, and exercise two or three days in the week on the plains near Fort George, and practice firing and have become very expert.

The noted Isaac Sweazy, has within a few days received a captain's commission for the flying artillery, of which they have a number of pieces. We were yesterday informed by a respectable gentleman from that side of the river, that he was actually purchasing horses for the purpose of exercising his men. They are repairing Fort George, and building a new fort at York. A number of boats are daily employed, manned by their soldiers, plying between Fort George and Queenston, carrying stores, lime and pickets, for necessary repairs, and to cap the whole, they are making and using every argument and persuasion to induce the Indians to join them, and we are

informed the Mohawks have volunteered their service. In fact, nothing appears to be left undone by their people that is necessary for their defence."

However, the Governor General seized the first opportunity of again advising his enterprising lieutenant to refrain from any offensive movements. "In the present state of politics in the United States" he said, "I consider it prudent to avoid any means which can have the least tendency to unite their people. While dissension prevails among them, their attempts on the Province will be feeble. It is therefore my wish to avoid committing any act which may even from a strained construction tend to unite the Eastern and Southern States, unless from its perpetration, we are to derive an immediate, considerable, and important advantage."

Brock felt so confident at that moment of his ability to maintain his ground on the Niagara, that he actually stripped Fort George of its heaviest guns for the defence of Amherstburg, which he anticipated would be the first point of attack. But the militia who had turned out so cheerfully on the first alarm, after the lapse of a couple of uneventful weeks, became impatient to return to their homes and families. They had been employed as much as possible in the construction of batteries at the most exposed points, and as they were without tents, blankets, hammocks, kettles, or camp equipage of any kind, they had suffered serious discomfort even at that season of the year. As their prolonged absence from their homes, in some cases threatened the total destruction of their crops, many were allowed to return on the 12th of July, and it was feared that the remainder would disband in defiance of the law which only imposed a fine of £20 for desertion. Nearly all of them were wretchedly clothed, and a considerable number were without shoes, which could not be obtained in the Province at any price. Many of the inhabitants Brock indignantly declared, were "indifferent or American in feeling."

However, the month of July passed away without developing any symptom of an offensive movement on this frontier. On the 22nd, the session of the Legislature began at York, with the knowledge that General Hull had invaded the Province at Sandwich with a strong force, and in hourly expectation of tidings that the garrison of Amherstburg had surrendered to superior numbers. Yet amid these depressing circumstances, Brock concluded his "speech from the throne" with these hopeful and inspiring words. "We are engaged in an awful and eventful contest. By unanimity and despatch in our councils, and by vigor in our operations, we may teach the enemy this lesson, that a country defended by freemen who are enthusiastically devoted to their King and Constitution can never be conquered."

During the following week the most discouraging reports from Amherstburg continued to arrive almost daily. It seemed as if the invading army would be able to over run the whole of the Western District, with scarce-

ly a show of resistance on the part of the inhabitants. A majority of the members of the Legislature were apathetic or despondent. They passed a new militia act, and an act to provide for the defence of the Province, but amended both in a highly unsatisfactory manner, after which the House was hastily prorogued by the General who was eager to proceed to the seat of war.

"The House of Assembly," he wrote on the 4th of August, "have refused to do anything they are required. Everybody considers the fate of the country as settled, and is afraid to appear in the least conspicuous in the promotion of measures to retard it. I have this instant been informed that a motion was made in the House and only lost by two votes, that the militia should be at liberty to return home, if they did not receive their pay on a fixed day every month."

On the succeeding day he began his march to the relief of Amherstburg. Most of the regulars and some of the militia which had been hitherto stationed along the Niagara, preceded or accompanied him on this expedition, which they were fortunately enabled to do by the inactivity of the enemy on the opposite bank, who actually do not seem to have become aware of their absence until they had returned victorious. Lieut. Col. Myers the Assistant Quartermaster General, was left in command. The men belonging to the flank companies who had been allowed to return to their homes to assist in the harvest were summoned to rejoin, and 500 more held in readiness to support them.

On the 20th of August, the inhabitants were thrown into a frenzy of delight by the almost incredible intelligence that Detroit had been taken with the entire American army. A few hours later, General Van Rensselaer who was still in ignorance of this event, signed an armistice which put an end to any further apprehension of an attack for several weeks.

The Americans did not remain idle during the interval. A body of five or six thousand men was assembled and five detached batteries were completed on the bank of the river, between Fort Niagara and Youngstown, two of which were armed with very heavy guns, and two with mortars.

Upon the termination of the armistice, the militia generally returned to their posts with alacrity, accompanied by a number of old loyalists unfit for service in the field, but capable of performing garrison duty.

The Garrison Order-book of Fort George still exists to bear witness to the ceaseless vigilance with which the movements of the enemy were watched. On the 2nd of October an order was issued directing one-third of the troopers to "sleep in their clothes, fully accoutred and ready to turn out at a moment's notice." This was followed on the 6th by another, requiring the whole of the regular troops and militia to be under arms by the first break of day, and not to be dismissed until full daylight, and on the 12th all communication with the enemy by flag of truce was forbidden, unless expressly authorized by the commanding general.

On the morning of the 13th of October, as soon as General Brock was convinced that the Americans were actually crossing the river at Queenston, he directed Brigade Major Evans who remained in command at Fort George, to open fire with every available gun upon Fort Niagara and the adjacent batteries, and continue it until they were absolutely silenced. This attack was forestalled by the enemy, who, as soon as they perceived the columns of troops marching out on the road to Queenston, turned the whole of their artillery upon Fort Niagara and the neighboring village, with such a disastrous effect, that in a few minutes the Jail and Courthouse and fifteen or sixteen other buildings were set in a blaze by their red hot shot. Major Evans had at his command not more than twenty regular soldiers who composed the main guard for the day. The whole of the small detachment of Royal Artillery usually stationed in the fort, had accompanied the field guns to repel the attack upon Queenston. Colonel Claus, with a few men of the 1st Lincoln Regiment, and Capt. Powell and Cameron with a small detachment of militia artillery, alone remained to man the guns of the fort and batteries. The gravity of the situation was greatly increased by the fact, that upwards of three hundred prisoners were confined in the jail and guardhouse which was now menaced with destruction. However, while the guards and the greater part of the militia were vigorously engaged in fighting the flames, amid an incessant cannonade, under the personal direction of Major Evans and Captain Vigoreux of the Royal Engineers, the batteries were served by the militia artillery men, assisted by two non-commissioned officers of the 41st Regiment, with such energy and success that in the course of an hour the American guns were totally silenced. By that time the Courthouse and some other buildings had been totally consumed, and the disheartening news arrived that Gen. Brock and Colonel McDonnell had been killed, and their men repulsed by the enemy who were landing in great force at Queenston, and had obtained possession of the heights. Evans rode off at once to send forward every man that could be spared from the stations along the river. He had just marched off a small party from Young's battery, when the American batteries resumed firing, and obliged him to return at full speed to his post. As he reached the main gate at Fort George, he encountered a party of panic-stricken soldiers flying from the place, who informed him that the roof of the magazine which was known to contain eight hundred barrels of powder was on fire. Captain Vigoreux climbed upon the burning building without an instant's hesitation, and his gallant example being quickly followed by several others, the metal covering was soon torn away and the flames extinguished in the wood beneath. The storehouses at Navy Hall were, however, next set in a blaze which could not be overcome owing to their exposed situation, and they were totally destroyed. The artillery combat was resumed, and continued till not only Fort Niagara, but all the other bat-

teries on that side of the river were absolutely silenced and deserted. One of the largest guns in that fort had burst, completely wrecking the platform, disabling several men and dismaying the remainder to such an extent that they deserted the place in a body, and could not be induced to return until the firing had ceased. For several hours the works were entirely abandoned, and could not have been taken without the least resistance, had Evans been able to spare men for the purpose.

On the next day, a cessation of hostilities was again agreed upon which continued until the evening of the 20th of November. During this interval the six battalion companies of the First Lincoln Regiment were consolidated into three, under the command of Captains John Jones, Martin McClellan, and George Ball, each containing about eighty rank and file.

At six o'clock on the morning of the 21st November, the guns of Fort George and five detached batteries began a second bombardment of the American works chiefly with the object of diverting the attention of the enemy to that part of the line, as General Smyth who had succeeded Van Rensselaer was massing his troops in the vicinity of Buffalo, with the apparent intention of forcing the passage of the river between Fort Erie and Chippawa. The fire from the American batteries, which appear to have been weakly manned, was ill-directed and occasionally ceased altogether for long intervals, while flames could be seen rising from their works, apparently caused by the explosion of shells. One of these missiles fell within the north blockhouse in Fort Niagara, and dismounted the only gun there. Another shot from a twenty-four pounder on the right of Fort George dismounted a heavy gun near Youngstown, while a third silenced the piece on the roof of the messhouse at Fort Niagara for nearly an hour. One of the guns in that place also burst with disastrous results, killing two men and disabling others. A large building under the walls which covered the landing of troops was entirely destroyed. By five o'clock in the afternoon, Fort Niagara was absolutely silenced, and only the Youngstown "Salt" Battery continued to fire an occasional gun. At dark the British guns ceased firing. But a single private of the 49th Regiment, and a gallant old half-pay officer, Capt. Barent Frey, late of Butler's Rangers, had been killed on the Canadian side of the river during the cannonade. The latter had voluntarily occupied himself in gathering the enemy's shot as they fell, for the purpose as he declared of having them sent back to them as soon as possible. He is said to have been killed by the wind of a cannon ball as it ricocheted along the ground. The messhouse at Navy Hall was destroyed, and seventeen buildings in the town itself were set on fire by heated shot, besides many others considerably damaged by the cannonade. A small merchant schooner lying at the wharf was sunk.

The American commandant at Fort Niagara, Colonel McFeely of the United States' Artillery, admitted the loss of only eleven men killed and

wounded, though he estimated that not less than 2000 round shot and 180 shells had been discharged against his works from the British batteries. He reported an instance of remarkable courage displayed by a woman. Among the prisoners taken at Queenston on the 13th October, was a private in the United States Artillery, named Andrew Doyle, who was recognised as a British subject, born in the village of St. Davids. He was accordingly included among those who were sent to England to be brought to trial for treason. His wife remained in Fort Niagara throughout the bombardment, and actually took part in working one of the guns. "During the most tremendous cannonading I have ever seen" said Colonel McFeely in his official letter, "she attended the six-pounder on the old messhouse with the red hot shot and showed fortitude equal to the Maid of Orleans."

Cannon balls were much too scarce and valuable to be wasted, and Col. Myers took pains to state in his report that the number of round shot picked up on the field exceeded the number fired from his guns on this occasion.

This artillery duel put an end to actual hostilities in the vicinity of Niagara for the remainder of the year. But the privations and sufferings of the militia were not yet terminated. They were retained in service until the middle of December, when winter set in with unusual severity, and all danger of an invasion seemed at an end.

As early as the middle of November, Sir Roger Sheaffe had reported that many of them were "in a very destitute state with respect to clothing, and all that regards bedding and barrack comforts in general, these wants cause discontent and desertion, but the conduct of a great majority is highly honorable to them, and I have not failed to encourage it by noticing it in public orders." In the order to which reference is made he had said; "Major General Sheaffe has witnessed with the highest satisfaction, the manly and cheerful spirit with which the militia on this frontier have borne the privations which peculiar circumstances have imposed upon them. He cannot but feel that their conduct entitles them to every attention he can bestow upon them. It has furnished examples of those best characteristics of a soldier, manly constancy under fatigue and privation and determined bravery in the face of the enemy."

On the 23rd of the same month he observed that the number of the militia in service had constantly increased since the termination of the armistice and that they seemed very alert and well disposed. Their duty during the next three weeks was of the most wearisome and harassing kind as none of them were permitted to take off their clothes by night, and in the day they were kept fully accoutred with arms in their hands. Strong patrols constantly moved along the river, keeping up the communication between the posts, and owing to the smallness of the force assembled to watch such an extensive line, the same men were frequently placed on

guard for several nights in succession. Their clothing was insufficient to protect them from the cold, and numbers were actually confined to barracks from want of shoes. Disease carried off Lieut. Col. Butler, Captain John Lottridge, Lieut. John May, Sergeant Jacob Balmer, and twenty privates of the Lincoln Regiments during the month of December, and there was much sickness among those who survived. Many, distressed beyond all endurance by the miserable condition of their families in their absence, returned home without leave.

Late in November the Governor General issued a proclamation directing all citizens of the United States residing in Upper Canada who still declined to take an oath of allegiance, to leave the Province before the first day of January, 1813. Among those who were banished at this time, was Michael Smith, already mentioned, who published a few months later a small volume, entitled "A Geographical view of the Province of Upper Canada." This book met with such a favorable reception that five other editions appeared at short intervals during the next three years, several of them being materially revised and enlarged. His description of the wretched state of this part of the Province was the result of personal observation, and is certainly not overdrawn.

"In the course of the summer on the line between Fort George and Fort Erie, there was not more than 1000 Indians in arms at any one time. These Indians went to and fro as they pleased to their country and back, and were very troublesome to the women when their husbands were gone, as they plundered and took what they pleased, and often beat them to force them to give them whiskey, even when they were not in possession of any, and when they saw any man that had not gone to the lines, they called him a Yankee, and threatened to kill him for not going to fight, and indeed in some instances these threats have been put into execution. They acted with great authority and rage when they had stained their hands with human blood.

"The inhabitants at large would have been extremely glad to have got out of their miserable situation at almost any rate, but they dared not venture a rebellion without being sure of protection.

"From the commencement of the war there had been no collection of debts by law in the upper part of the Province and towards the fall in no part, nor would anyone pay another. No person could get credit from anyone to the amount of one dollar, nor could anyone sell any of their property for any price except provisions or clothing, for those who had money were determined to keep it for the last resort. No business was carried on by any person except what was necessary for the times.

"In the upper part of the Province all the schools were broken up and no preaching was heard in all the land. "All was gloom, war and misery.

"Upon the declaration of war the Governor laid an embargo on all the

flour destined for market, which was at a time when very little had left the Province. The next harvest was truly bountiful as also the crops of corn, buckwheat, and peas, the most of which were gathered except the buckwheat which was on the ground when all the people were called away after the battle of Queenston. Being detained on duty in the fall not one half of the farmers sowed any winter grain."

All supplies from Montreal were cut off by the American fleet being in possession of Lake Ontario from the 8th November until the close of navigation. Flour and salt were scarcely to be purchased at any price and the condition of many families soon became almost too wretched to be endured. It is not surprising then that numbers of those who had no very strong ties to retain them, seized the first opportunity of escape.

Lake Erie was frozen over as early as the 12th of January. A few days later two deserters and three civilians made their way from Point Abino to Buffalo upon the ice. They stated that the British forces were greatly reduced by sickness and desertion and that they did not believe there were more than thirty regulars stationed along the river between Fort Erie and Niagara. In fact several companies of the 41st had been recently despatched to strengthen the garrison of Amherstburg which was again threatened with an attack, and a show of force was kept up by ostentatiously sending out parties along the river in sleighs by day and bringing them back to quarters after dark.

Stimulated by the information derived from these men the commandant at Buffalo projected the surprise of Fort Erie by crossing on the ice, but the desertion of a non-commissioned officer, Sergeant Major Macfarlane, disconcerted his plans.

Late in March the arrival of three families of refugees at Buffalo by the same route is recorded. They confirmed former accounts of want and distress and the weakness of the British garrisons on the Niagara. The American officers were enabled, by information obtained from these and other sources, to estimate with precision the actual force which might be assembled to resist an invasion. But as they failed to make their attacks simultaneously it happened in several instances that they encountered the same troops successively at different places many miles apart. Soldiers of the 41st, who had been present with Brock at the taking of Detroit fought at Queenston on the 13th of October and returned in time to share in the victory at the River Raisin on the 22nd January, 1813. Two companies of the 8th that took part in the assault upon Ogdensburg on the 22nd February, faced the invaders at York on the 27th April and again at Fort George a month later. Finding themselves repeatedly confronted with considerably larger forces than they had been led to expect, the American generals soon ceased to put much confidence in the reports of their spies.

The cabinet had at first designated Kingston, York, and Fort George

points of attack in the order named. The attempt upon Kingston was quickly abandoned owing to a false report that the garrison had been largely increased and it was determined to limit the operations of the "Army of the Centre" in the first instance to the reduction of the two latter places.

On the 17th of March, Major General Morgan Lewis, who had been appointed to the command of the division on the Niagara, arrived at Buffalo attended by a numerous staff. At noon of the same day, the batteries at Black Rock began firing across the river and continued the cannonade with little intermission until the evening of the 18th. A few houses were destroyed and seven soldiers killed or wounded near Fort Erie. Three of the American guns were dismounted by the British batteries. A week later the bombardment was resumed with even less result.

York was taken without much difficulty on the 27th April, but it cost the assailants their most promising general and between three and four hundred of their best troops. They ascertained on that occasion that they still had many warm sympathizers in that part of the Province. A letter from an officer who accompanied this expedition, published in the *Baltimore Whig* at the time, states that "our adherents and friends in Upper Canada suffer greatly in apprehension or active misery. Eighteen or twenty of them who refused to take the oath of allegiance lived last winter in a cave or subterraneous hut near Lake Simcoe. Twenty-five Indians and whites were sent to take them but they killed eighteen of the party and enjoyed their liberty until lately when being worn out with cold and fatigue, they were taken and put in York jail whence we liberated them." Michael Smith corroborates this account in some respects. He relates that twelve days after the battle of Queenston Colonel Graham, on Yonge Street, ordered his battalion to assemble that a number might be drafted to go to Fort George. Forty of them did not come but went out to Whitchurch township which was nearly a wilderness and joined thirty more fugitives that were already there. Some men who were home for a few days from Fort George offered to go and bring them in but as they were not permitted to take arms they failed and the number of fugitives increased by the first of December to 300. When on my way to Kingston to obtain a passport, I saw about fifty of these people near Smith's Creek in the Newcastle District on the main road with fife and drum beating for recruits and huzzaing for Madison. Some of them remained in the woods all winter, but the Indians went out in the spring of 1813 and drove them into their caves where they were taken."

So pronounced was the disaffection among the inhabitants in the vicinity of York, that Chief Justice Powell warned the Governor General that "in the event of any serious disaster to His Majesty's arms little reliance is to be had on the power of the well disposed to depress and keep down the turbulence of the disaffected who are very numerous."

On the 29th of April, the capture of York became known at Fort George and the boats and stores deposited at Burlington were removed to a place of safety. On the 8th of May the American fleet came over to Fort Niagara and landed the brigade of troops that had been employed in reduction of York. Although victorious they were described by General Dearborn as being sickly and low spirited. Next day some of these troops were sent in two schooners to Burlington Beach where they destroyed the King's Head tavern, built by Lieut.-Governor Simcoe, which had served as quarters for soldiers on their march to and from Niagara. These vessels continued to cruise about the head of the lake, while the remainder of their fleet sailed away, as it proved to bring forward another division of troops.

Brigadier General John Vincent, had lately assumed command of the British forces on the line of the Niagara, consisting of the 49th Regiment, five companies of the 8th, three of the Glengarry Light Infantry, two of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment, and a captain's command of Royal Artillery with five field guns, numbering in all 1925 officers and men, of whom 1841 were effectiver Besides these, Merritt's troops of Provincial cavalry, Runchey's company of negroes, a company of militia artillery and an uncertain and fluctuating number of militiamen belonging to the five Lincoln Regiments were in service.

By a general order in March, about 1700 militia had been summoned to the protection of the frontier, but when the alarm had subsided, most of them had been allowed to return to their homes as it was felt that they would be more usefully employed in cultivating their farms than in idly waiting for an attack which the enemy appeared to be in no hurry to make.

The regular troops were in high spirits and confident of victory, but the militia appeared gloomy and depressed. Vincent complained ruefully, 'it is with regret that I can neither report favorably of their numbers nor of their willing co-operation. Every exertion has been used and every expedient resorted to, to bring them forward and unite their efforts to those of His Majesty's troops with but little effect, and desertion beyond all conception continues to mark their indifference to the important cause in which we are now engaged. In considering it my duty to offer a fresh exposition of my sentiments to Your Excellency respecting the militia of this Province, I must at the same time express a belief that when the reinforcements reach this frontier, many of the inhabitants who have been for some time wavering and appalled by the specious show of the enemy's resources will instantly rally round the standard of their King and country."

Lieut.-Colonel John Harvey, a very able and enterprising young officer, who had lately joined General Vincent's division as Deputy Adjutant General, earnestly advised that accurate information of the enemy's numbers and designs should be secured at any cost. and then "by a series of both

active and offensive movements, they should be thrown on the defensive, no matter how superior their numbers might be." Had the whole of the 8th Regiment arrived in time this might have been accomplished, but two of its companies had been nearly annihilated at York, and the march of the remainder very much delayed by the attack on that place.

As late however, as the 20th of May, we find Colonel Myers writing to the Adjutant General in these terms. "It is not wise to hold an enemy too cheap, but I cannot divest myself of the idea that the foe opposite is despicable and that it would be no hard task to dislodge him from the entire of his lines on the Niagara River. With some subordinate attacks upon his flanks, I am of opinion that it would be an enterprise of little hazard for us to get an establishment on the heights above Lewiston, opposite Queenston. This once effected, I cannot but feel the strongest confidence that we would in a short time effect the object so much to be desired. It would be giving such a turn to the war that I conceive it would strike terror to the enemy, which would produce the happiest effects."

The return of the American fleet with a numerous body of regular troops on board put an end to these rather fantastic schemes of conquest. At daybreak on the 21st, no less than seventeen armed vessels, and upwards of one hundred Durham boats and batteaux were seen assembled near the mouth of the Four Mile Creek in rear of Fort Niagara, from which several thousand men were speedily disembarked.

For several days these troops paraded ostentatiously in plain view probably in the hope of overawing their opponents by the display of numbers. Many workmen were seen at the same time busily occupied in constructing new batteries along the river and building boats. Reinforcements continued to arrive daily until it was supposed that about 7000 soldiers were encamped between Lewiston and Fort Niagara. This force was composed almost wholly of regular troops that had been in service for some time and included nine of the best regiments of infantry in the United States army. They were accompanied by a strong regiment of heavy artillery, a well appointed field-train and a battalion of dragoons.

Major-General Henry Dearborn who was in command had distinguished himself in the Revolutionary war during which he had commanded a regiment in Arnold's expedition against Quebec and in Sullivan's campaign against the Six Nations. But he was now past sixty years of age and in ill health.

The Secretary of War had warned him to be careful to employ a sufficient force to ensure success. Seven thousand men was the number deemed requisite. "If the first step in the campaign fails," he wrote plaintively, "our disgrace will be complete. The public will lose confidence in us. The party who first opens a campaign has many advantages over his antagonist, all of which, however, are the results of his being able to carry

his whole force against part of the enemy's. We are now in that state of prostration Washington was in after he crossed the Delaware, but like him we may soon get on our legs if we are able to give some hard blows at the opening of the campaign. In this we cannot fail provided the force we employ against his western posts be sufficiently heavy. They must stand or fall by their own strength. They are perfectly isolated, send, then, a force that shall overwhelm them. When the fleet and army are gone we have nothing at Sackett's Harbor to guard. How would it read if we had another brigade at Sackett's Harbor when we failed at Niagara?"

The undisturbed control of Lake Ontario by his fleet gave the American general a still greater advantage than his numerical superiority. It was understood that the British squadron would not be able to leave Kingston for at least a week, but two small vessels were detached to watch that port while the remainder assembled at Niagara to cover the landing.

Vincent was accordingly thrown entirely upon the defensive. Had he only had Dearborn's army to contend with, superior as it was, he might have entertained a reasonable hope of being able to maintain his position but the presence of the fleet would enable his antagonist to select the point of attack at will and even to land a force in his rear.

Nor were the fortifications along the river in a satisfactory state. The chief engineer had examined them during the winter and reported that Fort George was still in a "ruinous and unfinished condition," although the parapet facing the river had been somewhat strengthened. He had recommended that it should be completed as a field work and that a splinter-proof barracks capable of sheltering 400 men should be built within, and the upper story of the blockhouses taken down to place them on a level with the *terre pleine*. But these suggested improvements could not be carried out for lack of materials and workmen. At this time the fort mounted five guns; one twelve, two twenty four pounders, and two mortars. On the left fronting Fort Niagara were no less than five detached batteries armed with eleven guns, five of which were mortars. All of these works were open in the rear, and could be enfiladed and some of them taken in reverse by an enemy approaching on the lake. Six other batteries had been constructed along the river between Fort George and Queenston, two at Chippawa and three opposite Black Rock about two miles below Fort Erie. All of these posts required men to occupy them and there were besides thirty odd miles of frontier to be constantly patrolled and guarded. About one-third of his regular troops and two-thirds of the militia were unavoidably stationed along the upper part of this line extending from Queenston to Point Abino, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Cecil Bishop. Vincent retained for the defence of the eleven miles of front between Queenston and the mouth of the Four Mile Creek, thirty gunners of the Royal Artillery with five field pieces, under Major Holcroft,

1050 regular infantry, 350 militia, and about fifty Indians. This force was subdivided into three diminutive brigades of nearly equal numbers, the right under Lieut.-Colonel Harvey being detailed to guard the river, and the left under Lieut.-Colonel Myers, the lake front of this position, while the third under his own command remained in readiness to support either of these when attacked. Fort George was garrisoned by Ormond's company of the 49th, and a detachment of militia artillery amounting in the whole to about 130 men. The gunners serving with the field artillery being not more than half the usual complement, additional men were attached from the infantry. The batteries were entirely manned by volunteers from the regulars and militia. The whole force was turned out every morning at two o'clock, and remained under arms until daylight. The staff officers set a conspicuous example of activity and watchfulness. Colonels Harvey and Myers, accompanied by their aides patrolled the lines the whole night through and slept only by day. As the enemy continued their preparations for nearly a week after the return of their fleet, the effects of the prolonged strain soon became apparent in the exhausted condition of both the officers and men. At first, General Dearborn's movements seemed to indicate that an attack would be made by crossing the river above Fort George, and on the 24th of May the whole of the British troops were kept under arms all night. About three o'clock in the morning the enemy was distinctly heard launching boats at the Five Mile meadows nearly opposite a station occupied by Lieut. (afterwards Major General) R. S. Armstrong, R. A., who by command of the vigilant Harvey, immediately began to fire in that direction with a six pounder field gun and the nine-pounder mounted in a battery at Brown's Point. The Americans replied briskly with two six-pounders and continued their efforts until they had put ten boats in the river. But if they had intended to cross at this place, they soon abandoned the attempt, and when day dawned all of these boats were seen on their way down the river with a few men in each. As they came within range the guns of Fort George began firing, which instantly drew upon that work the fire of no less than sixteen heavy guns and mortars mounted in Fort Niagara and the adjacent batteries. The twelve pounder in Fort George was soon dismounted by a shot which shattered its carriage, and every building inside was set on fire by the shower of shells and red-hot shot which rained upon it. The gunners were driven by the flames from the twenty-four pounder beside the flag-staff, but the unequal contest was still gallantly maintained by a similar gun in the cavalier and a smaller piece in the north-western bastion until Major Holcroft perceiving that the barracks were totally consumed and shells bursting in every corner of the place sent orders to this handful of undaunted men to cease firing and retire under cover. The gun at Mississauga Point remained silent by order of Colonel Myers who hoped by this means to deprive the enemy of any ex-

cuse for turning their artillery upon the village, and the other detached batteries seem to have taken little part in the contest. Having destroyed all the buildings in Fort George and effectually silenced its fire, the Americans discontinued the bombardment about two o'clock in the afternoon.

The lake front of the British position was then closely reconnoitred by boats from the fleet, sounding the shore in every direction and occasionally venturing within musket shot of some of the batteries which remained silent, partly from scarcity of ammunition and partly through fear of provoking a renewal of the cannonade. Buoys were placed to mark the stations the ships were to occupy next day when they engaged the batteries on the left of Fort George and covered the landing.

On the part of the British some ineffectual efforts were made to repair the damages of the morning. The tackle and carriage of the gun at the flag-staff in Fort George had been totally destroyed by the flames, and could not be replaced, while the ring-bolts of another gun at the light house had been drawn by the recoil, and little service could be expected from it. Only a small picquet was stationed in the fort during the night, and the remainder of the garrison lay upon their arms on the common about half a mile in the rear in hourly expectation of an alarm, with the other brigades on either flank.

Shortly after reveille had sounded next morning, a rocket was seen to rise into the air from Fort Niagara and a single gun was fired at Fort George. This was the signal for all the American batteries to begin a cannonade which was not returned and ceased at the end of half an hour. Long after the sun had risen a dense fog hung over the river and lake, effectually concealing all objects on the opposite side except the dim outline of Fort Niagara. Nothing could be seen of their troops, most of whom had been embarked soon after midnight, at the mouth of the Four Mile Creek. At daybreak Generals Dearborn and Lewis went on board Commodore Chauncey's flagship which immediately got under way, followed by the remainder of the fleet and the immense flotilla of batteaux and other boats filled with soldiers. Hours passed away and the entire armada remained almost motionless waiting for the rising of the fog. Finally when the fog banks rolled away 16 vessels of different sizes were descried standing across the mouth of the river at a distance of about two miles from land, followed by no less than 134 boats and scows, each containing from thirty to fifty men, formed in three compact divisions one behind the other. At a signal from the flagship the entire fleet tacked and stood towards the the Canadian shore, the small boats wheeling by brigades and carefully preserving their alignment. Their approach was gradual and deliberate, being favored by a gentle breeze, which, however, scarcely raised a ripple on the glassy surface of the lake. The schooners *Julia* and *Growler* each armed with a long 32-pounder and a long 12-pounder mounted on pivots,

by making use of their sweeps entered the mouth of the river and opened fire on the crippled battery near the lighthouse while the schooner *Ontario* of similar force took up a position near the shore to the northward so as to enfilade the same work and cross the fire of the two first-named vessels. Two guns and a mortar in Fort Niagara also concentrated their fire upon this battery, which was occupied by a few men of the Lincoln artillery under Capt. John Powell. Only a single shot was fired from the gun mounted there when it again became unmanageable and the gunners were soon afterwards driven out by the incessant fire directed against them from different quarters. At the same time the *Governor Tompkins* of six guns engaged the one-gun battery near the mouth of Two Mile Creek in flank while *Conquest* of three guns anchored in such a position as to fire directly into it from the rear, which was entirely open and unprotected. Resistance in this case was obviously out of the question and it was immediately abandoned. The *Hamilton*, *Seourge* and *Asp* anchored within short musket shot of the shore, a few hundred yards further west, nearly opposite a group of farm houses called Crookston, which was the place selected for landing the troops. The three largest vessels, the *Madison*, *Oneida* and *Lady of the Lake* drew more water and were in consequence obliged to remain at a greater distance, though still well within effective range of every part of the level plain beyond the landing place. The united broadside of the fleet amounted to fifty-one guns, many of them being heavy long-range pieces mounted upon pivots which could fire in any direction, and the weather was so calm that they were afterwards able to increase the number by shifting guns from the other side. The whole of the artillery in Fort Niagara and the batteries on that bank of the river had also opened fire. Two sides of the British position were thus simultaneously assailed by the fire of more than seventyguns and mortars which swept the roads and fields in every direction with scarcely a shot in reply. A picquet of the Glengarry Light Infantry which had been stationed with about 50 Indians of the Six Nations under Captain John Norton among the thickets near the mouth of the Two Mile Creek hastily retired to avoid utter destruction by the storm of missiles hurled against their covert. Two Indians were killed and several wounded before they could escape.

A heavy column of troops was then discovered marching from the American camp in rear of Fort Niagara near Youngstown. This consisted principally of dismounted dragoons and heavy artillery commanded by Colonel Burn who had been instructed to cross the river there and intercept the retreat of the British garrison towards Queenston. Their appearance had the effect of detaining a large part of Harvey's brigade on that flank to watch their movements.

It was about nine o'clock when the landing began at Crookston in the following order. The advanced guard in twenty boats was composed of

four hundred picked light infantry selected from several regiments, Forsyth's battalion of riflemen, and the flank companies of the 15th United States Infantry, amounting in the whole to about 800 rank and file, with a detachment of artillery in charge of a three-pounder field piece, under the command of Lieut.-Colonel Winfield Scott, an able and energetic young officer who had been taken prisoner at Queenston the year before, and was destined to be the future conqueror of Mexico. This force was strictly enjoined not to advance more than three hundred paces from the water's edge before it was supported by General Boyd's brigade of infantry, with Eustis's battalion of artillery and McClure's rifle volunteers on its flanks. This was succeeded by Winder's brigade with Towson's artillery, and Chandler's brigade with Macomb's artillery, which were instructed to form upon Boyd's right and left respectively. Each of these brigades must certainly have numbered not less than 1500 officers and men. The reserve was composed of the marines of the fleet and a picked body of 400 seamen which were landed but not brought into action.

The entire fleet continued to fire over the heads of the men in the boats and effectually screened their advance until they reached the shore and formed on the beach under shelter of the steep clay bank. Captain Hindman of the United States Artillery, a very gallant young officer who was in command of the detachment with the gun attached to the advance guard, is mentioned as the first man to reach the shore. So far they had not met with the slightest opposition, but when they began to ascend the bank, the artillery fire from the ships slackened and they were briskly attacked by three companies of the Glengarry Light Infantry, two companies of Lincoln militia, and the Grenadiers of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment who had been partially sheltered during the cannonade in a ravine two or three hundred yards distant. The effect of their musketry was sufficient to cause the American advance guard to retire under cover of the bank once more and the fleet recommenced its fire. Lieut.-Colonel Myers then succeeded in bringing forward the remainder of his brigade, increasing the force assembled in the ravine to forty men of the Newfoundland Regiment, ninety of the Glengarry Light Infantry, twenty-seven of Captain Runchey's negro company, one hundred Lincoln militia and 310 of the 8th or King's regiment. Several American authorities agree in the statement that they twice attempted to ascend the bank and were twice driven back by this determined handful of men. After they had succeeded in forming upon the plain, General Boyd declared that for "fifteen minutes the two lines exchanged a rapid and destructive fire, at a distance of only six or ten yards." The official returns of casualties establish the fact the whole of his brigade consisting of the 6th, 15th and 16th United States Infantry was brought forward to the support of Colonel Scott's advance-guard, making a force of about 2,300 men opposed to 567. Whenever practicable the ships continu-

ed to fire with destructive effect on the attenuated British line. Colonel Myers fell desperately wounded in three plans when leading the first charge. Every field officer and most of the company of officers were soon killed or disabled, and at the end of twenty minutes close fighting the survivors gave way, leaving nearly three hundred dead and wounded on the field. They were rallied at a second ravine some distance in the rear by Lieut.-Colonel Harvey, who brought up with him several companies of the 49th, and a six-pounder field gun under Lieut. Charlton, which had been stationed near Fort George.

Lieut. Armstrong with two other guns, had also been directed to proceed to the support of Lieut.-Colonel Myers, but upon advancing along the road parallel with the lake near Secord's house, he was suddenly assailed from both flanks by a body of riflemen, whose fire wounded his horse and one of his men, and a belt of thick woods prevented him from joining the remnant of that brigade, which was then in full retreat. While engaged in examining the road in front, Armstrong came unexpectedly upon one of the enemy's riflemen whom he made prisoner, and discovering that he was in danger of being surrounded, retired hurriedly to the Presbyterian church, where the remainder of the field guns had been posted. From this position they covered the retirement of Lieut.-Colonel Harvey's force, which took place about ten o'clock. By that time the Americans had succeeded in landing the greater part of their field artillery, and began to advance slowly in three dense columns, Scott's light troops skirting the woods on the right, with the 6th, 15th and 16th United States Infantry and four guns in the centre and the 18th United States Infantry and four guns moving along the margin of the lake. As they had brought no horses, they were obliged to drag their guns by hand, and their advance was necessarily very slow. While observing their movements, Colonel Harvey was almost cut off by a party of riflemen who had stealthily made their way through the woods with that object. He galloped off unhurt amid a shower of bullets, and formed his brigade in a fresh position behind a third ravine. Major Holcroft opened fire from a six-pounder and a howitzer, but on perceiving the advance of the enemy's light troops on the right, he placed these guns in charge of Lieut. Armstrong, and moved in that direction with the two other pieces. For nearly half an hour the artillery kept up a brisk fire and succeeded in checking the enemy's infantry. Harvey then noticed that their riflemen were again stealing forward through the woods, with the intention of turning his left flank, and ordered a general retreat to the Common beyond the Council House. During the cannonade Holcroft had lost but one gunner wounded and a single horse killed but the limber of his largest gun, a twelve-pounder, was so badly damaged that it went to pieces on the road.

An hour later when the Americans emerged from the village, an eigh-

teen pounder, in the battery next to Fort George was traversed, and fired upon them until they made a vigorous charge and captured it with several of the men engaged in working it.

Vincent joined Harvey with the reserve, and the whole force remained in position on the Common for nearly half an hour. Commodore Chauncey's flag-ship entered the river and anchored abreast of Fort George. The troops at Youngstown began to enter their boats while the enemy in front were steadily prolonging their lines to the right with the evident purpose of occupying the only possible avenue of retreat, and surrounding the British forces.

At noon, General Vincent despatched an order to Lieut.-Colonel Claus, to evacuate Fort George and join him upon the Queenston road. He immediately began his retreat upon St. Davids, the infantry retiring through the woods, and the artillery and baggage by the road. This movement was so quietly accomplished that it seems to have almost escaped the attention of the enemy who were busily engaged in reforming their line.

General Dearborn had become so much enfeebled by his exertions, and the effects of his previous illness, that he had to be lifted from his horse and supported to a boat which conveyed him on board the flagship, from which he viewed the landing of his troops, although unable to keep his feet for more than a few minutes at a time. The command accordingly devolved upon Major General Morgan Lewis, an officer of little experience and less military knowledge, but an active and influential politician. who had been in turn Chief Justice and Governor of the State of New York and was a brother-in-law of the Secretary of War. He was absurdly fond of military pomp, parade and display, and his opponents delighted to ridicule a speech he had made to the militia when Governor in which he had remarked that "the drum was all important in the day of battle." Having the fate of Van Rensselaer and Winchester fresh in his memory, his movements were cautious to the verge of timidity. An hour and a half elapsed after Harvey retreated before he ventured to advance beyond the village. He had then not less than 4,000 men in order of battle besides the reserve of marines and seamen. His line extended without a break from the lighthouse on Mississauga Point to the river above Fort George, That work was approached with excessive caution as the sound of repeated explosions within, caused them to dread a recurrence of their disastrous experience at York, and even the lighthouse was avoided lest it should be hurled in fragments on their heads. Colonel Scott was in fact unhorsed by a large splinter which broke his collar bone, but there were no other casualties. When the fort was entered, it was found that the garrison had disappeared with the exception of a few soldiers of the 49th Regiment, who were still engaged in dismantling the works. Some of the men were surprised in the act of cutting down the flagstaff to obtain the garrison flag from which the

haliards had been shot away, and others were taken prisoners as they attempted to escape through the main gate. More than a hundred sick and wounded were found in the hospital. The village of Niagara was entirely deserted, and many of the houses had been much damaged by cannon shot.

During the afternoon the Second Regiment of United States Dragoons was brought over from Youngstown, but scarcely any pursuit was attempted as the American army was described as much exhausted from being under arms for eleven hours. No one seemed to know positively which way the British had retreated. Colonel Scott with some of the riflemen seems to have advanced a few miles along the Queenston road, but was peremptorily recalled by General Lewis who feared an ambush. Meanwhile Vincent's column had retired in almost perfect order, leaving scarcely a straggler behind and marched with such speed that the rear guard arrived that night at DeCew's house, where a small magazine of provisions had been formed a few days before in anticipation of a reverse.

About four o'clock in the afternoon a dragoon reached Fort Erie with information of the loss of Fort George, and Lieut.-Colonel Bishop immediately began his retreat with the regular troops and field guns stationed there, leaving Major John Warren with a few men of the Third Lincoln Regiment of militia to occupy the works and engage the attention of the enemy on the opposite bank. Soon after his departure, Warren opened fire on Black Rock from all the batteries, and continued the cannonade all night. At daybreak the destruction of the stores and fortifications began. The barracks and public buildings were burnt, the magazines blown up, the guns burst or otherwise rendered unserviceable along the whole line from Point Abino to Chippawa. When this had been thoroughly accomplished, Warren disbanded his men, and an American force crossed from Black Rock and took possession of the dismantled works. A quantity of stores which had been abandoned at Queenston, was destroyed on the same day, by Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Clark, at the head of a small party of the Third Lincoln Regiment, who had returned from Beaver Dams for the purpose.

Scarcely had this been done, when a strong brigade of American troops advanced from Fort George and occupied that village.

During these operations General Vincent had lost the whole of his garrison ordnance and a considerable quantity of spare arms and military stores. His regular force had been diminished by 350 officers and men, nearly all of whom were killed or wounded, but he was joined during the night of the 27th by two strong companies of the 8th Regiment which had advanced that day as far as the mouth of the Twelve Mile Creek on their way to Fort George. The loss of the regulars in the battle was officially stated at fifty-two killed, forty-four wounded, and 262 missing, nearly all of those reported missing being either killed or left wounded on the field. The small detachment of Lincoln militia engaged is stated to have lost five

officers and eighty men, killed or wounded, but no official return seems to have been preserved. The names only of Captain Martin McClellan and Privates Charles Wright and William Cameron, who were killed, have been recorded. Two Mohawk Indians, Joseph Claus and Tsigotea, were also among the slain. General Boyd stated that his men found 107 dead and 175 wounded of the British troops upon the field. The losses of some of the detachments actually engaged were truly appalling. The five companies of the 8th Regiment lost, Lieut. Drummie killed, Major Cotton, Lieuts. Nicholson, McMahon, and Lloyd, and Ensign Nicholson wounded, and 196 non-commissioned officers and privates killed, wounded, or missing out of 310 of all ranks who went into action. The Glengarry Light Infantry lost Captain Liddle and Ensign McLean killed, Captain Roxborough and Lieut. Kerr wounded, and 73 non-commissioned officers and men out of an aggregate of 108. The grenadier company of the Royal Newfoundland Regiment lost Capt. Winter, Lieut. Stewart, and fourteen others out of forty.

The total loss of the American army was officially stated at 150, of whom thirty-nine were killed. The only officer killed was Lieut. Henry Hobart, a grandson of General Dearborn. Covered as their landing was by the fire of so many cannon, it is, perhaps, remarkable that their loss was so great. As a proof, however, of the severity of the short struggle on the plain. Dr. Mann, the American army surgeon, who was present, remarked that he found 27 dead and 87 severely wounded on the field when he landed and that nearly 400 of both armies lay stretched on a plot of ground not more than 200 yards in length and fifteen in breadth.

On the 28th, the whole of the militia except Merritt's troop of Provincial Cavalry, Runchey's company of negroes, and about sixty picked men of other corps who were determined to follow the fortunes of the army, were disbanded, and Vincent continued his retreat to Grimsby and finally to Burlington Heights where he arrived on the 2nd June with eleven field guns and 1800 seasoned soldiers, who, in spite of their recent reverse were in high spirits and eager to meet the enemy again on more equal terms. The brilliant result of the action at Stoney Creek three days later amply atoned for a defeat by which they had lost no credit.

The Americans were justly disappointed by the incompleteness of their success. For nearly two days they appear to have absolutely lost all track of their enemy. "When we marched for Queenston on the 28th," wrote an officer in the United States army whose letter was published at the time in the *Baltimore Whig*, "we found the British far advanced on their retreat by the back road toward the lower part of the Province. They collected their force very actively. Our friends hereabouts are greatly relieved by our visit. They had been terribly persecuted by the Scotch myrmidons of England. Their present joy is equal to their past misery. This is a

charming country but its uncertain destiny together with the vexations the farmers endured by being dragged out in the militia left the fields in a great degree uncultivated. The British Indians are not of much use to them. They run as soon as the battle grows hot. I saw but one Indian and one Negro with the Glengarry uniform on, dead on the field. Their Eighth fought very resolutely and suffered severely."

Many American historians have condemned General Dearborn for not having accomplished more with the means at his disposal but they have made little or no allowance for the physical weakness which actually rendered him unfit to command at all. General Armstrong, who, as Secretary of War, was eager to justify his own conduct, declared that "if instead of concentrating his whole force, naval and military, on the water side of the enemy's defences he had divided the attack and crossed the Niagara below Lewiston and advanced on Fort George by the Queenston road, the investment of that place would have been complete and a retreat of the garrison rendered impracticable." This, however, was actually the movement which Dearborn had planned but failed to execute in time. Ingersol, a member of Congress and a leader of the war party, bitterly observed that "the British General effected his retreat (probably without Dearborn knowing it for he stayed on shipboard) to the mountain passes where he employed his troops in attacking, defeating, and capturing ours during all the rest of that year of discomfitures."

THE END.

N. B.—For the engraving, "The Taking of Fort George," we are indebted to the kindness and courtesy of the Hon. P. A. Porter, Niagara Falls. It is from the portfolio published in Philadelphia, 1817, and is particularly interesting to us as giving the appearance of the churches St. Mark's and St. Andrew's before the town was burnt down, as also the Lighthouse situated nearly where the Queen's Royal Hotel stands now.

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

NO. 2.

DUCIT AMOR PATRIAE.

Centennial Poem.

By MRS. CURZON, PRESIDENT WOMAN'S HISTORICAL
SOCIETY, TORONTO.

Fort Niagara, N.Y., 1783=1796.

By REV. CANON BULL, PRESIDENT LUNDY'S LANE
HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Slave Rescue in Niagara, Sixty Years Ago.

By MISS CARNOCHAN, PRESIDENT NIAGARA HISTORICAL
SOCIETY.

PREFACE.

In placing in the hands of the public, their second pamphlet, the Niagara Historical Society would express their gratification at the favor shown to their first, "The Taking of Fort George," and rejoice to know that the author, Major Cruikshank, will soon contribute another valuable paper describing the "Seven Months' Occupation of Niagara by the Americans." The present issue contains a poem by Mrs. Curzon, President of the Woman's Historical Society, Toronto, the author of "Laura Secord" and other poems; a paper by Canon Bull, the President of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, both of whom have done so much to cause an interest in historical research.

To show the aims and objects of our Society and what we have done, are doing and hope to do, it may be well to make some extracts from the report of the Society and the address of the President, read 13th October, 1896:

"It is much to be regretted that an Historical Society had not been formed here a score of years ago, when pioneers and veterans were alive, who could have told us so much that we have now no means of obtaining.

"Our thoughts to-night must be both retrospective and prospective. We speak of what has been done and what we hope to do. In 1892, a small Society was formed, chiefly with the view of giving assistance in the Centenary proceedings on July 16th. It is believed only two meetings were held, and one open meeting, at which a paper was read, "Niagara One Hundred Years Ago," which was printed by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society. The officers were, President, William Kirby; Secretary, Daniel Servos; Treasurer, D. McDougall. In November, 1895, a meeting was called for all interested, as it was felt strongly by a few that in this historic spot such a Society should exist. It was with feelings of great diffidence that we engaged in the task, for we had been assured that it was useless to try to break down the cold, dead wall of apathy and indifference that we everywhere encountered and as to collecting relics, everything valuable had disappeared, was either destroyed or given away; or, that if any remained, they would not be given to us. But all these dark prognostications proved false. What have we done? Briefly, this: We have a list of over fifty members, have adopted a constitution and by-laws, a motto too, "The Love of Country Guides." We have had interesting meetings, three of them being open to the public at which papers were read. One by Capt. Cruikshank has been printed in pamphlet form with an old engraving. We have had a successful anniversary, on the platform representatives of five Historical Societies; indeed the Presidents of four. A poem was read, dedicated to our Society, by Mrs. Curzon. A paper was read by Canon Bull and addresses were made by Miss Fitzgibbon, Capt. Cruikshank, Rev. J. C. Garrett, Rev. P. Spencer, Col. Currie and Major Hiscott. You have heard the satisfactory reports of the Secretary and Treasurer, showing a balance in the treasury.

"A remarkable and valuable exhibit, for which we were indebted chiefly to the zeal of Mr. John D. Servos, of documents, weapons, old silver, flags,

Indian relics, was universally commended. We also followed the example of the L. L. Society, in decorating the graves of those who died to save their country, the four to whom a tablet is placed in St. Mark's church on May 27th, (the grand-daughter of one of them, Capt. McLelland is among us).

"Other encouragements, we have had. The Mayor kindly allowed the use of his office for our first meetings. The town council granted the use of the old library room. A large case was presented by Mr. Long, (since then four cases for our collection by the Archaeological Museum, Toronto), Contributions have come in rapidly ; such valuable historic relics as General Brock's cocked hat, obtained from Mrs. Herbert Ball, through the kindness of Mr. Alfred Ball ; and the sword surrendered at the Taking of Fort Niagara by our troops in 1813, from Mr. Alexander Servos ; papers printed in Niagara, 1794, presented by Mr. C. A. F. Ball ; the christening bowl used by Rev. R. Addison, kindly loaned by Mrs. Stevenson ; and many other articles form the nucleus of what we hope may become an extensive and valuable collection. Our curator, Mr. Wilkinson, has nobly performed his task and deserves our hearty thanks. The work of correctly and neatly labelling and entering 250 articles is no slight one, (now over 400).

"And now for what we hope to do. The respected President of the L. L. H. S., Canon Bull, has assured us that the greatest cause of its vitality is its publications. and thus it has earned the right to receive grants from the county and the province, has thus disseminated useful and valuable historic information. Canon Bull, in his address a year ago, advocated the erection in Niagara of a memorial of the landing of the U. E. Loyalists, with the names of the refugees, at the spot on the beach where so many of them landed, and this would be a legitimate work for us. The preservation of our forts and historic spots is another worthy object of our ambition, and we rejoice that already a step has been taken in that direction. We hope to obtain from the County Council and the Provincial Government a small grant for printing purposes, as we already have other historical documents to print. It may thus be seen that we have much before us. We feel that as a Society we have much reason for thankfulness for what we have been able to accomplish in less than a year, and should the same zeal, the same hearty support be given in the ensuing year as in the last we shall have no reason to feel ashamed of our record."

Since the above was written a grant has been given by the County Council of Lincoln and the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Ontario for printing purposes. The Historical Pilgrimage to Niagara, May 24th, under the charge of Mr. Frank Yeigh, and the meeting here of the Pioneer and Historical Association of Ontario, June 2nd, have developed much interest in the history of our neighborhood and much interest was expressed with regard to the historical collection. There are now fifty picture frames hanging on the walls of the room, containing deeds, commissions, pictures of the town, valuable historical documents, and we would earnestly ask all who have any papers, pamphlets, books printed in Niagara in early days, or articles illustrative of the history of the country to contribute by loan or otherwise. A record is carefully kept by Mr. Wilkinson, the curator, and all articles contributed are acknowledged in the Niagara Times in the "Historical Column." In the year 1800, a library was formed in Niagara, the history of which is known for twenty years, and it is particularly wished to obtain some of the books belonging to it ; several rare and curious volumes have lately been given. The donors may be sure that great care will be taken in the preservation. The room is open from three to five on Saturdays and many visitors from different cities and countries have shown great interest in the collection so that it is easily seen that all helping in forming an historical museum are giving pleasure and conferring a real benefit on their country, for such collections serve to develop patriotic feeling.

CENTENNIAL POEM.

Written by Mrs. Curzon, President of the Woman's Historical Society, Toronto ; dedicated to the Niagara Historical Society, and read by Rev. J. C. Garrett, Rector of St. Mark's, at the first anniversary of the Society, 17th Sept. 1896.

That dark September for New France was past ;
Vandreuil had signed capitulation's bonds ;
Montcalm and Wolfe lay in their quiet graves.
St. George's Cross flew o'er Canadian soil
From brave Quebec, to where the sea drives in
Among the reefs and keys of Florida :
Nothing remained to France but Britain's grace.
Courage had done its best—a splendid best—
Can grander name than Montcalm ever rise ?

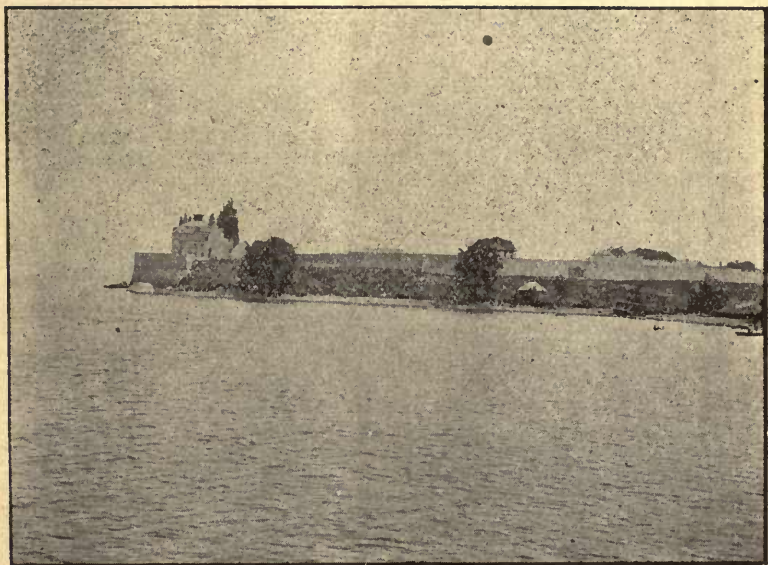
Nothing remained to France but Britain's grace.
But what more shall we ask, save grace of God ?
Large-hearted, generous, noble, England gives
No grudging freedom, no false liberty :
With princely hand, and brow serene and kind
She dowers her subject peoples with the dower
Of children, bidding them forget old feuds
And live and prosper in her mother-love.
And so no hearts were wrung by servile tasks ;
No passions raged 'neath black oppression's foot :
The gallant French-Canadian found no foe,
But a sound friend in every British face.
And when hot words grew into hotter deeds
Between Great Britain and some hasty sons
In her colonial kingdom oversea,
Canadians all, one heart our people held
As lieges of the king, for Britain's rights,
And British subjects' rights maligned, forsworn.

Then when 'twas o'er and "seven red years of blood"
Brought thousands leal and true to monarchy

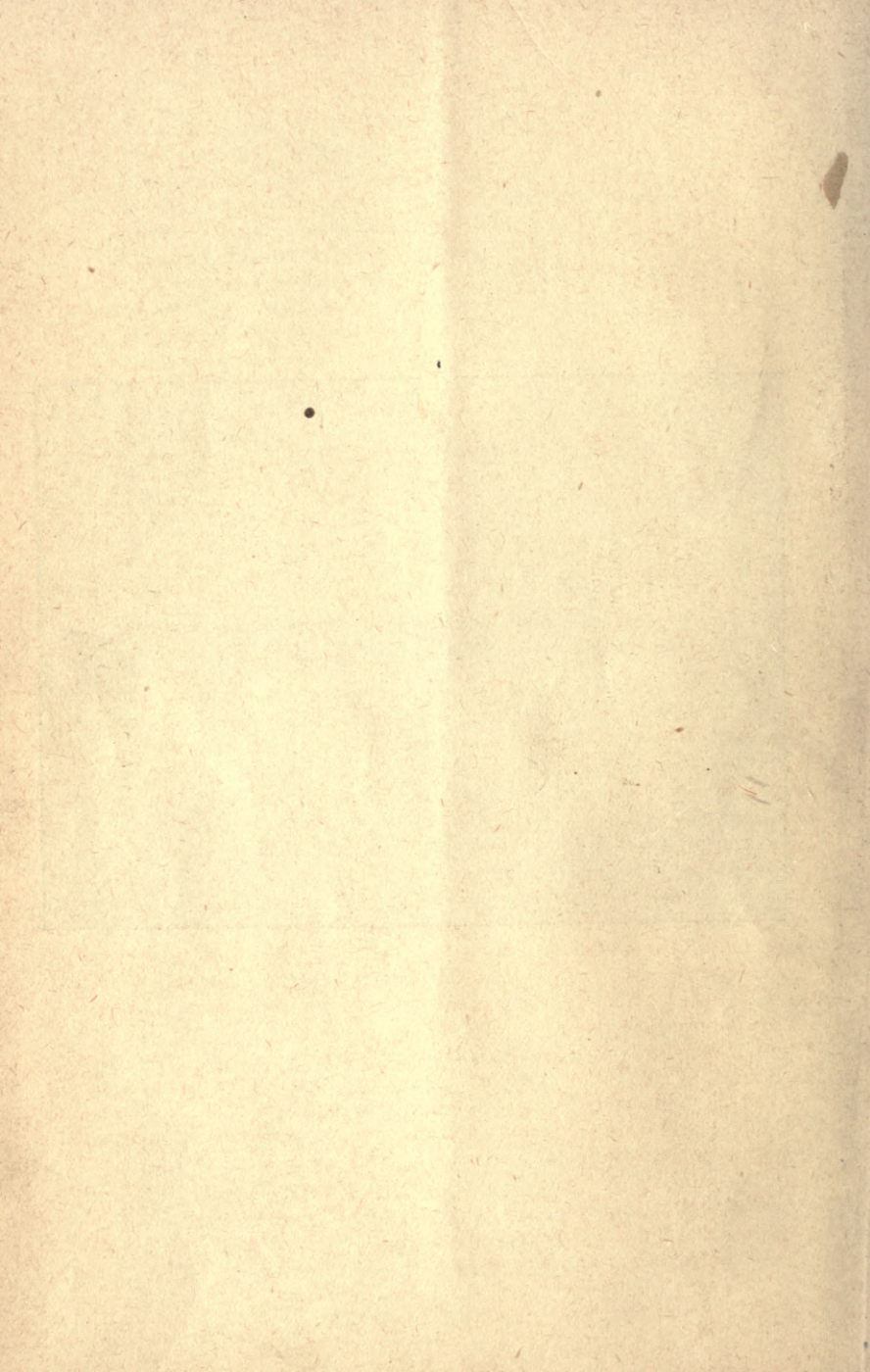
On to Canadian soil, the land grew strait—
 Too narrow for so large a multitude :
 A multitude of men, and women, too,
 Whose hearts were warm with love and hot with wrongs ;
 Whose principles of honour, duty, faith,
 Of loyalty and truth, had been through fire
 And come out sterling gold. Not theirs to fall
 Lamenting of their losses, but to turn
 Bold hearts and willing hands to win afresh
 Homes—British homes—beneath the Union Jack.

Ah ! What a joy it was when Pitt—who knew
 And trusted British instincts, had his way
 And settled British laws on British ground !
 Ontario, it was thine to be so blest !
 The imperial circlet on thy regal brow
 Was proudly set, with every gem ablaze :
 And England's glorious throne enthroned *thy* king
 Thou province of the west whose limits reached
 The far Pacific, this was thy golden dower—
 A freedom large and wide as righteousness.
 Hail then thy splendid coronation !
 Out of full hearts and grateful memories
 We greet with shouts thy grand centenary ;
 Gladly recalling that fond day and hour
 When on the gracious soil beneath our feet
 The noble Simcoe stepped, our Governor.

And oh ! how joyful the momentous day
 That saw the lieges come from far and near
 Obedient to the summons of the king.
 To hold the Province's first Parliament.
 O pregnant day and full of weal or woe
 To millions yet unborn ! But there was that
 Beneath it all would guarantee its worth—
 The Word of God ! His law ! The inspired command
 That Britain least of all can e'er gainsay
 For that she owes it most. On this alone
 Stands, and has ever stood her liberty.
 O Britain ! Mother-land ! to thee we turn
 With proud high hearts and eyes alight with love
 Knowing thee ever true and ever great.
 Our kindling souls to-day find in thy name
 Our richest boast. Canadians ! Britons !
 We ask no more ; the rest is in our hands.



FORT NIAGARA, N. Y.



FORT NIAGARA, N. Y., 1783-1796 ;

OR

The Long Hold-over Period of That Fort.

(A paper read by the Rev. Canon Bull, President of Lundy's Lane H. S., before the Niagara Historical Society at Niagara, Ont., Sept. 17, 1896.)

The celebration across the river, of an event of one hundred years ago, August 17, 1796, namely : England's surrender of Fort Niagara to the new Republic of the United States of America, was observed a few days ago by a very large concourse of people at the old Fort. Although the occasion was memorable, and attracted considerable public attention, and jubilant addresses were invited, yet according to the newspaper accounts of the day's proceedings, it would seem that nothing was said or no explanation given as to the long delay intervening between the Treaty of Peace in 1783 and 1796, a period of thirteen years, before the Treaty was fulfilled so far as concerned the restoration of Fort Niagara and certain other forts into the hands of the United States authorities. The long delay or hold-over period caused considerable annoyance to the people of the Republic. It was held to be an unsufferable grievance—enough, again, to provoke hostilities between the two Powers.

The able author of "A Brief History of Old Fort Niagara," says, on pp. 61, 62 :—"At last, June 1, 1796, the day set by treaty for the evacuation, arrived, but none of the five forts were evacuated. Why? Because the United States were not ready to occupy them, not even Fort Niagara, the most important of the five.

"So badly, indeed, had the United States army been supplied with provisions that, when notice was sent to the Federal General by the British officers that they had received orders to deliver up their respective posts pursuant to the treaty, and that they were prepared to do so whenever he

"was ready to take possession of them, an answer was returned that unless the British officers could supply his army with a considerable quantity of provisions on arriving at the lakes, he could not attempt to march for many weeks."

(Quoted by Hon. Peter A. Porter, from Weld's Travels, page 302.)

"A British statement," adds Mr. Porter, "but in general, substantiated by fact.

"On August 11th, the order having been duly presented, the British evacuated Fort Niagara and transferred the garrison, consisting of fifty men, guns, ammunition, stores, etc., across the river. As the banner of St. George came down from the flag-pole at Fort Niagara on that day, the British emblem floated over but one spot on American soil, Michilimacinac, which was not surrendered up to the United States until the following October.

"So Niagara was the next to the last post evacuated in America."

In the following paper it is proposed to show from official documents of the period, what were the real reasons for the long delay or hold-over period of 1783-'96.

It may seem extraordinary that we should at this time go back to events that occurred at a period so distant; but, in doing so, it will be, perhaps, interesting and useful to the student of history and of international politics, in order to understand and fairly to judge between the two administrations at that time,—the one as conciliating as possible, and the other as perverse and hostile.

It must be observed that the confederation of the United States, which was formed at the commencement, continued for some time after the peace. The nature of this compact must also be observed. It was a pure democracy. The government was not placed in the hands of even a few individuals, but remained in the possession of the representatives of the States.

Considerable difficulty existed in the objects prescribed by the treaty of peace. These difficulties arose from the impediments which were placed in the way of His Majesty's subjects, which operated so as to prevent their recovery of debts which had been owing previous to the revolution. These debts it was not possible to recover. This, and other circumstances, sanctioned the British government in the retention of certain forts, posts, etc., which, had the terms of the treaty been strictly complied with on the part of the United States, ought to and would have been surrendered at once.

In December, 1785, we find Mr. Adams at the British Court, "urging the complaints of America and pressing for a full compliance with the treaty." In reply the Marquis of Carmarthen (afterwards Duke of Leeds) said that "the engagements entered into by a treaty ought to be mutual and equally binding on the respective contracting parties. It would be, therefore, the height of folly as well as injustice to suppose one party alone—the British

"—obliged to a strict observance of the public faith while the other might remain free to deviate from its own engagements as often as convenience might seem to render such deviation necessary, though at the expense of its own credit and importance." And he assured Mr. Adams that as soon as his government should evince on their part a disposition to fulfil the treaty, Great Britain would co-operate with him. For the justice of the Marquis' allegations we need only refer to a letter of Mr. Jay to General Washington, in which he confesses, "*it is too true, the treaty has been violated.*" In reply to Mr. Jay we find General Washington exclaiming:—"What a misfortune it is *that the British should have so well grounded a pretext* for their infraction; and what a disgraceful part out of the choice of difficulties are we to act!"

In no measure was the American system more evident than the predicament in which the creditor was placed. Session after session in the state legislatures were "acts," called "instalment acts," passed, defining the definite periods to which payment of instalments on debts were to be deferred. This was done in actual defiance of the treaty. The conduct of the popular party on this occasion is well described by the learned biographer of Washington—(Marshall):

"These contests were the more animated, because in the state governments, generally, no principle had been introduced which could resist the wild progress of the moment, or give the people an opportunity to reflect and allow the good sense of the nation time for reflection."

Such was the want of principle at that time existing that "it was impossible to negotiate bonds even where the creditors were unquestionably competent, but at a discount of 30, 40, or 50 per cent."

From their legislatures they expected other acts favorable to the prolongation of payments, and made their election of such men as would pledge themselves to vote for these measures. They even threatened "to suspend the administration of justice by private violence."

As to private debts, however, we are bound not to express much surprise when we find, from the authority of Washington himself, that "requisitions" (from the government) "are actually little better than a jest and a by-word throughout the land." Its authority, from Mr. Jay's description of it, seems in general cases to be as weak as in that of requisition for pecuniary advances. "Private rage for property," says that gentleman, "suppresses public consideration, and personal rather than national interests have become the great objects of attention. Representative bodies will ever be faithful copies of their originals, and generally exhibit a chequered assemblage of virtue and vice, of ability and weakness."

It was under these circumstances that they were compelled to form a stronger government. Such was the critical situation in which they were placed, that we find Washington expressing his wish that "anything, nay, everything, should be essayed to prevent the effusion of blood and to

"avert the *humiliating* and *contemptible* figure we are about to make in the "annals of mankind."

Here we see the great danger they were in, not from British stamp acts or Boston post-bills; not from British armies or British navies, but from American sedition, from American violence. We find that such was the height to which not only opposition to order, but open violation of law, reached as to compel a judge (who had been an officer) to declare at the head of 300 men "that he would die as a general or sit as a judge."

Such was "the licentious spirit," the "desire of change," the "wish to annihilate all debts," to exert the force of the poor and the numerous to bear away the property of the few and the more wealthy, that they combined an organized body of 12,000 or 15,000 men.

To such a height did this spirit of insubordination reach that open civil war was expected, and upon the best ground, for the insurrection was not quelled without a recourse to arms, in which several rioters were killed.

It was under such circumstances that had not the magnanimity, the honor and the fidelity of the British Government to engagements been so firm and so exalted, held out the fairest opportunity of regaining the footing it had lost—it was, we say, under such circumstances—that these people formed a government that could act and with effect.

From the British constitution it was avowedly modelled. One of its framers (Dr. Franklin) was accustomed to express his opinion of the old adage that it depended more on the administration than the mere letter of a constitution whether it should produce evil or good. This, the work of his and his compatriots' hands, will fully prove the truth of the sentiment.

Washington, as president, from this time, of the new republic, may well be called, "The Father of his Country," its most faithful and honorable adviser. One incident, from among many, to prove our high estimation of him, may be mentioned :

In June, 1793, an English ship was captured by the French and brought into Philadelphia, where she was refitted and armed to cruise against British commerce. The president was at his seat for a few days. Col. Hamilton communicated the fact to Gen. Knox and Mr. Jefferson. Directions were then given to the municipal authorities to detain her until the arrival of Gen. Washington. The French minister, Genet, insolently refused to allow it. Facts proved afterwards he had tampered with a minister who was supported by the people in permitting the vessel to leave a port of the United States, then at peace with England, to prey upon her commerce. This act was applauded at civic *fetes*, but condemned by Washington, and at last Genet was recalled to France for his act of injustice and violence in the matter. The fall of Robespierre also tended to remove Genet from the United States. Washington determined upon a course of truth and justice to all. His determination and firmness of character could not be overcome by any popular tumult or violent expression. This firmness seems, however, to have been a signal for attacks upon his character.

He was characterized as a tool of Great Britain, and was proclaimed a peculator and thief of the treasury. Where is the gratitude of man to be met with? Posterity will, however, refuse to believe that such baseness ever entered his mind.

No doubt, through Washington, efforts were made in 1796, three years before his death, to transfer the forts of Niagara. Oswego and other places held over by Britain for 13 years. to the authority of the United States, still, in 1802, when the old claims of debts were renewed, it was agreed to give £600,000 as a compensation for £5,000,000 !! (This claim had been reduced from £10,000,000 !!) This was one of the first acts under Jefferson's administration.

This paper, thus far, has been limited to one subject of history immediately following the revolutionary period and secession of the thirteen states from Great Britain. The Niagara Historical Society, before whom it was read, is to be highly commended for the work and labour of love which it has undertaken—the study and cultivation of Canadian history. The Lundy's Lane Historical Society bids the President and members of the Niagara Society a hearty welcome, as diligent and patriotic students of their country's history.

Let all our efforts tend to promote truth, justice, unity, peace and concord. Then will God bless us—our country, our constitution and our gracious Sovereign. For the preservation of this portion of the British Empire, and for the uprightness of her counsellors and administrators of a century, we are thankful. Let our prayers be offered up to Him to whom alone belongs "The weak to strengthen and confound the strong,"



A SLAVE RESCUE IN NIAGARA SIXTY YEARS AGO.

By JANET CARNOCHAN.

(Read before Canadian Institute, Lundy's Lane Historical Society, and Niagara Historical Society.)

Not all heroes are known to fame. Not all heroes are of the dominant races, nor are they always of the class trained by ages of culture to do knightly deeds. An article in a late number of the "Canadian Magazine," relating to the deed of John Brown in striking a blow even to the loss of his own life, to free the slave, recalls the story told me not long ago, a brave deed done by black men for one of their race, and which, I am sure, has never been fully chronicled. But you ask, what good is done by such reckless sacrifice of life? *Much every way.* The lesson in heroism to onlookers and listeners to the tale is one that could be taught so well in no other way. The moral heroism shown, lifts us up on invisible wings and fits our souls for lofty flights. And the object is often gained, although at the time nothing seems to have been accomplished, and the actor loses his life. As in the case of the Hermit Almachus, who denounced the gladiatorial conflicts and was torn to pieces by the mob, eager for the sickening sight of brutes and brutalized men tearing each other to pieces in sight of delighted thousands, who often refused even to turn up their thumbs to save a life. Apparently the only result was the sacrifice of the life of an almost unknown and nameless monk—but, mark,—that was the last time that men looked down from the Colosseum seats to gaze upon such brutalities. The gladiatorial contests were ended.

The event I shall endeavor to describe occurred about sixty years ago in Niagara, in the vicinity of the jail, now Miss Rye's Western Home. Those grounds, now beautiful with graceful trees and shrubs, as well as brilliant flowers and luscious fruit, witnessed many sad and tragic scenes. The imprisonment here, in 1818, of Robert Gourlay, described so graphically in Dent's History of the Rebellion in his opening chapter nearly twenty years before the date of our story, his cruel treatment, and the imprisonment with heavy fine, and standing in the pillory of a Niagara editor for publishing a letter, now seems to us such a perversion of justice that we can hardly imagine that such a thing actually took place here sixty years ago.

The opening words of Dent's History of the Rebellion are these ; " In "the afternoon of a warm and sultry day, towards the end of one of the warmest and most sultry summers which Upper Canada has ever known, an extraordinary trial took place in the Court house in the old town of Niagara eighty years ago." A graphic description follows of the trial on Friday, Aug. 20th, 1819, of Robert Gourlay, something in the style of Macauley's trial of Warren Hastings, describing the presiding judge, the counsel on each side, the witnesses, the prisoner, the jurymen, the court room itself, so that those taking part stand out in striking relief, and we can almost hear the very tones of their voices, can see the play of their countenances. The room so portrayed can yet be seen, forming the dormitory used for those waifs and strays from the mother land, who find homes in our newer, freer, more far-extending country. Here may yet be seen, above the wide staircase, the gallery for spectators, the arches showing good workmanship, while the position occupied by the judges, prisoner's box, judge, can all be pointed out, though, of course, many changes have been made in the building. A picture is in existence of the building in its early days of which, nothing can surpass the unmitigated ugliness, a reference in *he Niagara Gleaner*, 1819, speaks of its being built in 1817 "in that swamp."

This building, with its surroundings, was the scene of the slave rescue. My hero was a black man, who gave his life to save a black man, or it may rather be said there were heroes, and, though their lives were the forfeit, they accomplished what they aimed at, and struck a blow for freedom, which went on resounding through the years. A quarter of a century before this, near this same spot, a blow had been struck for the slaves by our early legislators, making provision for the gradual freeiug of all slaves in Canada, before Britain had freed her slaves, and still longer before our Southern neighbors, at such a costly outlay of money and a still more costly outlay of blood, did the same for their slaves. A noble deed this for this wilderness, where our fathers met in dangers and difficulties ; a benificent deed and worthy of being chrouicled.

The story, as heard first, I have made many efforts to make more complete, efforts at first signally ineffectual, but, finally, after following many *ignis fatui*, at length a connected narrative has been gained. Sixty years does not seem so long a period, but it is remarkable how few can give a

clear account, how many false clews one may follow. One aged person asked, could tell nothing at all; one had come here the next year; another had only a confused recollection; but the story as told by four independent witnesses, and since confirmed by many others, seems so dramatic, so unreal in this utilitarian age, that at first I almost hesitated "to tell the tale as 'twas told to me," but I believe it to be true in every particular.

In 1837 Niagara was an important place—St. Catharines and Hamilton were comparatively insignificant. There were 4,000 inhabitants, of whom 400 were blacks who had nearly all escaped from slavery, following the north star through devious dangerous ways, but now having purchased little plots of land and built houses thereon, they formed an important part of the population. They had two churches, Baptist and Methodist, a school, generally taught by a black man, but at one time by a white woman. A company of black men was enlisted during the rebellion, so that they did their share to help the Government which had given them shelter, spreading over them its flag as an ægis. Niagara was then also a military station, nearly all the lake vessels were built here, it was the headquarters for the fugitive slaves and other colored Canadians.

My informant, a large woman, somewhat portly, with good features, not darker than many Caucasians, with a stately presence, and bearing well the snows of seventy winters, told the story well in her soft voice: "Yes, I could tell you about the old times. I was born in Niagara in 1824 and my father came here in 1802. He was a slave. No, he did not run away. He came with his master all the way from Fredericksburg, Virginia, driving the carriage with six horses, his master bringing his money in bags, enough to last him; he came all that way to see the Falls, and stayed at Black Rock a while. My father was the coachman, and though his master was not cruel like some masters, my father was always afraid he might be sold off to work in the cotton fields, and a gentleman from Niagara, Mr. D., told him he could easily escape and come to Niagara where there were many colored people. So he hid in the corn fields. It was September, and oh, the misery my father was in when September came; he had his dark days every year, for he remembered lying out at night, the cold, and the fright of being taken, and little to eat, and the rain, oh! the children did not like when that time of the year came, for he never forgot it, and he was down, down then. But I must go back to my story. At last his master had to go back without his coachman, although he waited a long time, and then my father came to Niagara where he bought a little piece of land here in Colored Village. That is a picture of the log house. No, it is not standing now. Mrs. — took a picture of it for me before it was pulled down, and I have had it framed as you see. Far from here? No, my father owned this piece of land, too, and I built this little house. War? Yes, my father used to tell about driving some of the officers, and about the dances, and the old Blue House and the Block House, and he remembered General Brock and

many officials. My mother, with many others, went to Burlington Bay during the war ; my father was a teamster ; hard times they had then. Do you know what our people used for hairpins then ; there were no stores—what, perhaps they had stores, but people had no money—well, we used the thorns from the hawthorn trees, and sometimes used them to pin our clothes together when they were torn, instead of buttons and hooks and pins.

My mother was a German woman and was brought up by a lady, and my grandmother came from the States in the Revolutionary war, and went and lived with the Indians at Chippawa, but my mother came away to Niagara and lived as servant with Parson Addison, and when she married my father in 1818 he gave her a grand wedding out at Lake Lodge. There were fifty people present, and Rev. John Burns helped to marry them. Where did I go to school ? Oh, the first school I went to was to a yellow man called Herbert Holmes—Hubbard Holmes our people called him. I will tell you afterwards what became of him and how he died. Oh, he was severe, they were then, you know, but he was a fine man, had been educated by a gentleman in Nova Scotia, and then he went to England for a while, and I went to school upstairs in the schoolhouse of the Scotch church ; you know the first church was burned down in the war and then they used the schoolhouse where the sexton lives now, and downstairs they had preaching and Sunday school, and upstairs was a schoolroom for the colored children. It was a black man taught it. How many ? Oh, it was full—full of children. The benches were slabs with the flat side up and the bark down, with round sticks put in slanting for legs. The children all studied aloud, and the one that made the most noise was the best scholar in those days. Then I went to a Miss Brooks, from Oberlin, in 1838-9. I remember just how she looked, and how she dressed. She was delicate and died of consumption ; oh, she had hard times with some of the boys—bad, rough ones. I remember how Hubbard Holmes used to drill the boys, and then when holiday time came, he would march us all in twos to a grocery kept by a black woman, and treat us all to bulls'-eyes and gingerbread. Holidays were not two months as they are now, but two weeks. Oh, he was a fine man—but I must tell you how he died.

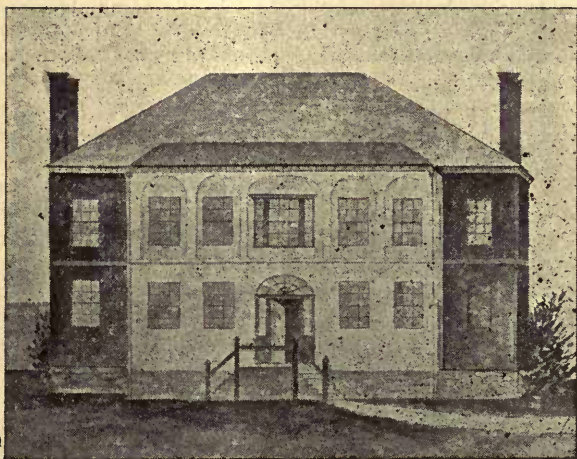
There was a slave who escaped from Louisville, Kentucky, Solomon Moseby by name. In those days they followed the north star and that brought them to Canada. Now, this slave had stolen his master's horse, or they said so, and so they tracked him and found him here at Niagara, and he was arrested and put in jail. Yes, *where Miss Rye's Western Home is*. It did not look like that then. So you know they could take him back, and hang him for taking the horse, and so they brought papers, and the lawyers and the judge said he must go back, and our people were worked up till they said they would "*live with him or die with him.*" Yes, *do or die*, that's what they said, and they went up on that day, crowds and crowds, and the sheriff, that was McLeod, and the constables and soldiers, and the people, and children and the white people, crowds and crowds. *Did I go?* No,

mother took us up on the top of our house, and we could hear the shouting and the screaming and the screeching and the firing. Ephraim Wheeler was the jailer, and the sheriff went up and down slashing with his sword and keeping the people back. Many of our people had sword cuts on their necks. They were armed with all kinds of weapons: pitchforks, flails, sticks, stones. One woman had a large stone in a stocking, and many had their aprons full of stones, and threw them, too. The constables had muskets, and when the waggon came out of the jail-yard with the prisoner. Solomon Moseby, sitting in it with handcuffs, to go back to slavery, or be beaten to death or hanged after he had come all these miles, our people were nearly frantic, and Hubbard Holmes sprang forward and caught one horse by the head, and a black man called Green caught the other. Some one must have sprung in the waggon and knocked off the prisoner's handcuffs, the constables fired, and Hubbard Holmes and Green fell dead, but Solomon Moseby jumped out and ran off in the direction of Mr. Hiscott's. Oh, I can remember the screaming and the shouting—but *Hubbard Holmes was dead! Tragedy!* Yes, he was a martyr, he gave his life to free his brother; they said they would live or die with the prisoner, and they did. Oh, what a funeral that was. Nearly all the people in town coming up to see the dead bodies when they were laid out, and to the funeral afterwards. Where is he buried? In the graveyard of the colored church. Monument? No, but he was a hero. Some of those who helped Hubbard Holmes were taken up and kept in jail for a month and then they let them out. After some years Solomon Moseby came back, and meanwhile his wife had come here. They met in Mr. — house, but at first they hardly knew one another, but it was a sight to see the tears streaming down their faces with joy, but our people did not give him any encouragement, so he did not stay long, for they thought when they had suffered so much for him and lives had been lost, he ought not to have come back. Sunday School? Yes, some Methodists used to have Sunday School round in the houses of our people, Mr. Varey and Mrs. Judge Powell and Mrs. Whitten went round teaching and praying. They dressed different from the Methodists now, and Hubbard Holmes was what they called an *exhorter*. And I remember when the white Baptists and the black Baptists had the fight about the meeting house, *but the blacks got it*. That was in 1839. There are some white people buried there: a child of Mr. Oakley, who was a teacher and used to exhort, and I went to another teacher who taught in the Methodist schoolhouse. They used to baptize in the river; sometimes there would be fifty immersed in the water at one time down near where the Queen's hotel is now. And sometimes they went to the creek near Mr. Burns' orchard, instead of going to the river, to be baptized."

And now, from a friend, comes the same story; the same, and yet different, parts of it explaining what seemed strange in the other, one point especially, how the handcuffs were so easily got rid of. This narration gives dignity to the deed of the blacks. It was a well-organized plan, the



MISS RYE'S HOME—AS IT IS TO-DAY.



THE OLD GAOL—AS IT WAS SIXTY YEARS AGO.
(Now Miss Rye's Home)

steady determination of hundreds to save a companion from the awful fate which they knew only too well awaited him, a persistent effort on their part involving self-denial, suffering and risk, which was as truly heroic as many deeds of which we read in Greek, Scottish or Dutch history, or our own U. E. Loyalists ; deeds immortalized in song or story.

The story, this time told to my friend by an old man, a full black, is that the slave Moseby took his master's horse to help him escape, and after using it some time, abandoned it, and made his way on foot the remaining distance to Canada. Shortly after he was arrested, and after considerable legal wrangling, the Canadian authorities consented to deliver him up to the Americans as a criminal for horse-stealing. Of course, the colored people on the Niagara frontier thought it was a shameful surrender. The blacks then formed a numerous, if not wealthy, element of the Niagara population. One of their preachers, Herbert Holmes, who was also a teacher not like some temporisers, was also *a man*, although his skin was neither, white nor black, but yellow. When it was decided that Moseby was to be returned to slavery, Herbert Holmes, the teacher and preacher, said, "Never while I live," and he at once, with other leading colored citizens, gave the alarm to all their comrades on the Niagara frontier, and called on them to come to the rescue at once, and nobly they responded. Few of the blacks then were better than hewers of wood and drawers of water to their white brethren, but many instances can be given of self-sacrifice by those to whom word was sent. Teamsters gave up their situations and lost their wages, journeys were made to take word to friends, by boys and girls, journeys difficult and dangerous, for besides those in authority who wanted to surrender Moseby, there were a number of black ruffians, as well as whites, who made their living at times by kidnapping escaped slaves and other colored people, getting them back over the Niagara river. To the physical hardships endured, which were light, comparatively, add the mental sufferings, for instance, while the superstitious darkies were passing the numerous burial places of the early settlers on their own farms, the runners who were sent off to give the alarm, journeys often in the night, over nearly impassable roads to St. Davids, Drummondville, Chippawa, Fort Erie, Port Colborne, then called Granelly Bay, or the Twenty and Forty-Mile Creeks.

The Deputy Sheriff of the Niagara district at this time was McLeod, who was anxious to have Moseby extradited, but, fortunately, there were some formalities to be complied with, and before this was done Holmes recruits had arrived and assembled around the Niagara jail, determined to die before Moseby was given up. The town was in a ferment, the majority of the whites were opposed to the surrender but did not want to interfere, and fortunately for Moseby he had friends even among his guards, and although attempts were made to get him out secretly from the jail and down to the ferry, the watchers always were alert, and time after time frustrated the attempted night delivery of the prisoner. Capt. Eccles and Col. Adams, of St. Catharines, interested themselves for Moseby, and got up a largely signed

petition, but without avail. McLeod wished Capt. Richardson of the Canada to take Moseby to Lewiston in his vessel, and received for an answer a reply, forcible and somewhat profane, but this certainly might be a case where the recording angel might drop a tear to erase the word. It was the answer of a humane man : that no vessel commanded by him would be used to convey a man back to slavery. Moseby's owner and the Americans were clamoring for him and at last, after a three weeks' siege of the jail by from 200 to 300 negroes, some say over 400, it was determined to deliver the prisoner on a certain day. Many of the white inhabitants of the town had given help in the way of food and shelter to the blockading army, who had erected temporary huts for shelter for some, as the weather was cold, while others obtained shelter with their colored brethren. Although there were four taverns in the vicinity of the jail there was not accommodation for all. Special constables were engaged, a couple of bombardiers from Fort Mississagua in their gorgeous uniforms, to inspire fear, were detailed to ride on the waggon, one on each side of the prisoner as he was being conveyed to the wharf. As there had been numerous false alarms, there were not so many white spectators as might have been expected, but there were some hundreds who were nearly all sympathizers. It was thought during the first week that Moseby's friends would soon tire, and it was given out at different times that the prisoner was to be given up, but Holmes was not thus deceived. He and his were always on hand. Sentinels had been posted on guard, night and day for those three weary weeks. What a time of excitement this must have been for all concerned ; it sounds to us, in these prosaic days, almost beyond belief. The prisoner did not lack friends inside the prison walls, and Holmes was always warned when danger threatened.

At last the day came ; the Deputy Sheriff on horseback with a drawn sword, the waggon with two spirited horses, constables in front on the waggon, constables on the rear seat of waggon, prisoner handcuffed in the centre with bombardiers on each side of him, constables with fixed bayonets on foot, on each side of the waggon and the rear, white spectators on the roofs of the neighboring houses. The prisoner was handcuffed in the jail yard and bidden good-bye by Wheeler and helped into the waggon. Outside the jail the Riot Act was read, and then the gates are thrown open and the spirited team came out with a rush. Two hundred determined black men on each side of the road and across in front of the bounding team were there as well. Most of them, personally, had felt the lash of slavery ; and there also was Holmes, who, however, had never been in bondage, but had made their wrongs his own, and deserves all the more credit. All this recalls the words of the old rhyme while we survey this striking picture.

"And shall Trelawny die, and shall Trelawny die ?

Then forty thousand Cornishmen will know the reason why."

Holmes, although a heavy, corpulent man, was the first to reach the

horses' heads and bring them to a standstill ; another man took hold of the other horse, and a third black man by the name of Green, with a fence rail, now that the waggon was stopped, ran the rail between the spokes of the hind wheels and locked the waggon. The prisoner, whose handcuffs had either not been locked or had been so weakened that they easily broke, jumped from the waggon into the thickest of the crowd and disappeared. All this did not take over two minutes. McLeod on his charger, who, with his drawn sword was making way for the team, had got into an altercation with a large fat woman who would not make way for him, her ponderosity happily offering an effectual bar, but on whom he hesitated to use his sword, on looking back and seeing the horses stopped, shouted " Fire ! " and " Charge," the bombardiers fired, one of them into the air, the other at Holmes, killing him instantly, and one of the special constables with his bayonet charged at poor Green, who had just locked the waggon wheels and had not had time to get away. The prisoner, who was an athletic man, jumped a rail fence, and ran into a corn field where a man by the name of Gibson was at work, who is credited with giving him assistance. At a farm house near Virgil it is told that he stopped to obtain a drink of water (and in the same house is still shown an earthenware jar, called " the Holmes jar," having belonged to our dusky hero at one time). Moseby finally reached Montreal, and afterwards England, for he was safe neither in Canada nor the United States. The authorities were enraged at his escape, and thirty or forty of the blacks were immediately arrested and imprisoned in the jail, the leader next to Holmes being a man named Sims. They were kept prisoners for some time, and at the breaking out of the rebellion were released, and joined a colored company, marched to the Falls and afterwards to Chippawa. Capt. Johnson Clench was their first captain. My informant could give no account of the funeral, there being a warrant out against him, but he escaped and afterwards enlisted with the others, being then a lad of sixteen.

It is strange how many stories are told of how the handcuffs were removed, showing what a hold this had taken on the popular fancy, and also how differently people see and narrate the same circumstance, but all showing the sympathy felt for the prisoner. One tells that the blacksmith who made the fetters, so constructed them as to be easily opened ; another that a file was conveyed to Moseby in food sent in to him ; another, that a friendly turnkey helped him, and still another, that when he left the waggon, the handcuffs were still on, and then he ran to a large stone in a field and struck them off. One of the constables lost a finger in the contest as was well known to many in town.

Another vivid word picture of the same scene was given by a gentleman from Toronto, the story being told him by Father Henson, of Chatham, who was either a witness or was told of it by a participator in the scene. A touch of local color is given which will be appreciated by those who have wandered over the common at Niagara, or as it is called in Kirby's Canadian

Idylls, "Niagara Plain," of late years given over to herds of cows wandering at their sweet will, marching sometimes in procession once a day to the river to drink ; at one time of the year dotted with the white tents of the Canadian volunteers, the scarlet coats contrasting with the pleasing dark blue of the cavalry, while a hundred years ago thousands of Indians assembled to make a treaty with the whites, while again the booming of cannons at the taking of Fort George, and still again the blaze from the burning town, casting a glare on the inhabitants fleeing over the snow for shelter, while now the summer visitor, all unconscious of these sad memories, gathers bunches of ox eyed daisies or fragrant sweet briar. This historic plain forms part of the military reserve ; near by is Butler's barracks, then surrounded by a high palisade, not far off the historic "thorn trees" : midway between the jail and the wharf a creek now dry in summer. Near by, the Hospital formerly the Indian Council Chamber, the site now shown by some fine old trees. A wooden bridge crossed some low ground near the jail and the idea of the blacks was to use no violence, but the women were instructed to stand on the bridge forming a solid mass, so that there would be some time taken up in dispersing them, which would cause a diversion and give time and opportunity to the prisoner to escape in the confusion. The women sang hymns. Let us fancy we hear the sound, on that broad plain, of the sweet African voices, singing, perhaps, some of those wondrously sweet and plaintive melodies made familiar to us by the Jubilee singers, all around the forest, over all the blue sky, and between the bridge and the jail, a line of black men watching for their brother, whom they had determined to rescue. The crowd sang till all were excited, then when the constables got out of the waggon to clear the way, rails were taken down from the fence, which proved to be effective weapons ; some were stuck in the waggon wheels, and thus an opportunity for escape was given. A stone in a stocking formed a formidable weapon for the women. Another informant tells that the black women, worked up to a high pitch of fury, did "grievous bodily harm" to some of the officials who never liked to have this episode referred to afterwards. A lady from St. Catharines, prominent in good works, told me she remembered as one of her earliest recollections, seeing a waggon full of black men standing up driving wildly through St. David's to the rescue, and that one of these men returned with a pike wound through his cheek.

Singularly enough, after writing the above, comes another version of the story which disputes my title of hero. Through the kindness of J. P. Merritt, Esq. of St. Catharines, access was obtained to a newspaper file of 1837, bound volumes of the St. Catharines *Journal*. The thought had often obtruded itself that another side of the story might call this band of men, trying to save a brother, a mob, or even by a harsher name, and what all who had told the story had called heroism, might be called rebellion or treason. How far it is right to resist constituted authority is a question yet unsettled. The difference between a patriot and a rebel, perhaps, depends on his

measure of success. If successful a patriot and here, if unsuccessful a rebel and traitor. In the issue of the *Journal* for Sept. 21, 1837, is an article headed "Mobocracy in Canada." The articles give us another link in the history of our country, for here is a reference to the *Christian Guardian*, published sixty years ago, and another to William Lyon Mackenzie, certainly using very vigorous language in regard to both. The article headed "Mobocracy in Canada" begins thus: "A most lamentable and exciting occurrence took place a few days ago, in the town of Niagara, by which two colored men lost their lives, and several others were seriously injured. A runaway slave from Kentucky (here follows the story). Application was made to the Lieutenant-Governor to remove said felon, which was granted. An armed mob, principally of colored people of all sexes and conditions, having collected about the jail, several magistrates, soldiers and constables were called in, the Riot Act was read, the mob rushed on the officers with clubs and knives, the military were ordered to fire; but the grand object of the mob was gained, as the prisoner escaped; \$100 is offered by the sheriff as a reward for his capture. A coroner's inquest was held. The pretext of the blacks for their violent conduct was the suspicion that the slave was not to be punished as a horse thief, but to be returned to slavery, losing sight of the enormity of the crime of resisting the law."

It seems by the issue of Sept. 28th, that the *Christian Guardian* had given in its columns a statement that a verdict of "wilful murder" against the Deputy Sheriff had been given, and a very abusive article follows against the *Christian Guardian*, which, the *Journal* says, waited a week to get the facts of the case, and then accuses the Deputy Sheriff of wilful murder: "We may search the records of human depravity in vain for a parallel of crime for its appropriate title." The words quoted from the *Christian Guardian* seem hardly to deserve this tirade: "That the Deputy Sheriff in ordering the military to fire on an unarmed assemblage, who offered no violence, several minutes after the escape of the prisoner, exceeded his authority." An extract from the *Niagara Chronicle* gives the account of the inquest; "At 10 o'clock on Sunday morning, Sept. 24th, the jury having been confined seventeen hours, returned their verdict unanimously in the case of Herbert Holmes, 'justifiable homicide,' by twelve of the jurors; in the case of Jacob Green, "That the deceased was killed by a wound inflicted by a sharp cutting instrument, but whether justifiably or unjustifiably there is not sufficient evidence before the jury to decide." Between the verdict of the jury on the 24th, and the article on the 27th, there were two mails and six steamboat arrivals from Niagara. Some very strong language is used against those "who under the sacred garb of Christianity aim insidious and well-directed blows against the foundations of social order. We are no more fond of slavery than of mob law. We would rather prostitute our columns to the service of the master who deals in flesh and blood, than to him who was a murderer from the beginning." In the *Journal* of Oct. 4th, the editor returns to the charge thus: "In his paper of Oct. 4th, the editor of the

Guardian apologizes for the falsehood respecting the verdict of the jury, the regret is only for that one untruth, and none for the encouragement of mobocracy. Is it not enough that that vilest of all vile creatures, Mackenzie, openly applauded those 'fine fellows who watched ten days and nights at the jail door,' but that the *Christian Guardian* should throw in a sly wink of approbation at their infatuated conduct." In the issue of Oct. 19th we find that the *Guardian* declines to exchange with the *Journal*, and speaks slightly of Mackenzie, comparing the editor of the *Journal* with him. In the *Niagara Reporter*, Nov. 9th, Thomas Sewell shows that the *Guardian* could not have had the news in time for correction, but in the next issue of the *Journal* is another long article abusing the *Guardian*, and it is to be hoped this newspaper war, continued for three months, was soon brought to a close. All this, however, shows the interest taken in the slave.

Since writing the above, it has been discovered that there are several persons living in Niagara who were present at the jail, when these thrilling scenes took place, and whose account agrees almost word for word with that related. In the *Niagara Reporter*, Sept. 14, 1837, lately found, is a long description blaming Sir Francis Bond Head for his action, and describing the excitement; and in Mrs. Jameson's "Sketches of Canada" is mentioned her meeting with Mrs. Carter, commonly called "Sally" Carter, a strong fine-looking black woman, who harangued the mob in the most eloquent manner.

Many stories might be gathered up, if not so exciting as this, still very interesting, and could this be collected and made public much light might be thrown on the past, and many missing links of Canadian history supplied.



PREFACE.



It has long been desired that the history of the seven months' occupation of Niagara, by the Americans, till now an unwritten chapter in our history, might be given to the public; and we rejoice that the story is now to be told by one who is at once so able and so well informed, and who has made the history of this period and this locality the study of his life. Major Cruikshank needs no introduction to those interested in the history of Canada, and who are already familiar with the close research, patient investigation and judicial impartiality which mark his historical papers. "The Blockade of Fort George" is the sequel to pamphlet No. 1 of the Society, "The Taking of Fort George," and brings the story down to the burning of the town in December, 1813.

The Niagara Historical Society, in sending out this third pamphlet, desires to do its share in proving the fact, so long denied, that Canada has indeed a noble history, and would hope that the same favor granted to its other publications may be accorded to this.



BRITISH FORT AT NIAGARA.

FROM HERRIOT'S TRAVELS, 1806.

For the engraving of Fort George we are indebted to the kindness of Mr. Bain, Librarian, Public Library, Toronto, who has allowed the copper-plate engraving in Herriot's Travels, 1806, to be copied. This interesting picture, which we have been so fortunate as to obtain, confirms and clears up several disputed points. The different buildings forming Navy Hall are seen below Fort George; also a large building on the hill, supposed to have been the first Butler's Barracks, as on this spot are still found Butler's Rangers' buttons. St. Mark's Church is plainly visible, and the large building to the right may have been the Court House, as tradition points to that spot. The view is from near Youngstown and shows part of the stockade of Fort

J. C.

Niagara.

THE BATTLE OF STONEY CREEK AND THE BLOCKADE OF FORT GEORGE.

On the afternoon of the 27th of May, 1813, the left wing of the weak division commanded by Brigadier-General Vincent was driven from its position at Niagara with severe loss, both of men and munitions of war, and began its retreat by way of St. Davids and DeCew's Falls. Colonel Robert Nichol, the Quartermaster-General of Militia, relates that General Vincent at first intended to retire to Fort Erie, in the hope of maintaining himself there until he could be joined by Colonel Procter's division from the Detroit River, and that only his own strong objections, supported by Lieut.-Colonel Harvey and Captain Milnes of the Governor-General's staff, prevented him from adopting that very hazardous course and induced him to retreat upon Burlington Heights instead.

The numerous small detachments posted at the batteries along the river, between Queenston and Chippawa, dismantled their works and joined the retreating column in the course of the afternoon, and a halt was made for the night at the Beaver Dams, where a small magazine of ammunition and provisions had been formed several days before, in anticipation of this emergency. Before morning Lieut.-Colonel Cecil Bisshopp came in with the greater part of the force which had been watching the river and lake shore between Chippawa and Point Abino, and two companies of the 8th Regiment, accompanied by a few officers and seamen of the Royal Navy under Captain R. H. Barclay on the way to join the Lake Erie squadron, marched across the country from Twenty-Mile Creek, where they had arrived in boats from Burlington the preceding afternoon *en route* for Fort George.

All the heavy artillery mounted on the fortifications and a great proportion of the bulkiest stores of the army were necessarily destroyed or abandoned, and the militia residing on the south side of the Chippawa were instructed to disband.

It soon appeared that there was little danger of molestation from pursuit. The American army was too much exhausted by the efforts of the day to follow far. General Dearborn and his second in command, General Lewis, even seem to have been in some doubt as to the direction of Vincent's retreat. A party of light infantry had advanced cautiously along the Queenston road for two or three

miles when it was peremptorily recalled from fear of an ambuscade. Several of their armed vessels then ascended the river to cover the passage of Colonel Burn with a regiment of dragoons and a body of heavy artillery from the Five Mile Meadows. These troops crossed several hours too late to intercept Vincent's retreat as had been projected. Yet on the whole the invading army was decidedly elated by its partial success, gained with trifling loss, and it was triumphantly announced that "the American flag now proudly waves over the Pandora's box of the frontiers."

Before night came Dearborn was again quite prostrated by illness and fatigue, and retired to his quarters at Fort Niagara, leaving orders for General Lewis to continue the pursuit at day-break next morning in the direction of the Beaver Dams, where it was then reported that the British intended to make a stand. The village and neighboring farm houses were found to be almost entirely deserted. Many of the inhabitants had fled to the hamlet at the mouth of the Twelve-Mile Creek, already sometimes known as St. Catharines, whither several of the wounded militia men from the battle-field were also conveyed by their sorrowing friends. Most of the houses near the fort had been riddled with cannon-shot during the tremendous bombardment of the last two days, and were scarcely habitable.

The invaders soon obtained from their sympathizers a very accurate estimate of the force opposed to them, but remained in uncertainty as to its movements. General Lewis, with the brigades of Chandler and Winder, besides some dragoons and riflemen, moved in pursuit as instructed, but failed to reach Queenston until afternoon. He then ascertained that a party of the Lincoln Militia, led by Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Clark, had re-occupied that place during the morning and destroyed or concealed all the stores abandoned there the day before. Finding comfortable quarters for the night at Queenston, easy-going General Lewis halted there for the night with Winder's brigade, but directed Chandler to advance to St. Davids. Chandler occupied St. Davids just before dark and encamped there.

During the day considerable numbers of the Lincoln Militia had joined General Vincent in expectation of a battle, but as he feared that his opponent might re-embark his troops in the fleet and cut his line of communication by taking possession of Burlington before he could arrive, it was announced that all who desired were at liberty to return to their homes. Every wagon that could be found was instantly impressed to remove the stores, and the retreat was continued to the Forty-Mile Creek, thirty-one miles from Niagara. The remainder of the militia, with the exception of sixty

picked men who were determined to follow the fortunes of the army, were there disbanded and advised to remain quietly at their homes until their services were again required.

Lieut.-Colonel J. P. Preston of the 12th United States Infantry crossed the river during the day from Black Rock with about 600 men, and took possession of the dismantled works at Fort Erie without opposition. Before night it was definitely ascertained that Vincent was retiring towards the head of the lake, and Dearborn then determined to recall Lewis and embark his division in the hope of intercepting him at Burlington. Chauncey readily agreed to this proposition, Lewis had returned to Fort George on the afternoon of the 29th, and preparations for the movement were far advanced, when a messenger arrived from Sackett's Harbor with the alarming intelligence that the British squadron had appeared on the lake and was menacing that port, where all their naval stores were collected and a large new ship of war lay on the stocks nearly ready for launching. In fact the result of the disastrous bombardment of Fort George had become known little more than twenty-four hours later to the Governor-General of Canada at Kingston, and he promptly determined to put the greater part of the garrison on board such of the vessels in the harbor as had been pronounced ready for service, and attempt a diversion in favor of the hardly pressed Vincent by a sudden counter-stroke at the American base of operations. This well-planned movement was only partially successful, but it actually put an end to the proposed expedition by water against Burlington, gave Vincent time to refresh his wearied men, and secured the command of the lake for two months to come. Chauncey decided that he must return to the protection of Sackett's Harbor without delay, yet the 30th was wholly consumed in the embarkation of Macomb's regiment of artillery, and he did not sail until the afternoon of the next day.

Vincent halted for two days at the Forty-Mile Creek, during which his scouts and spies seem to have kept him well informed of the movements of the enemy, although they estimated his force at ten thousand when it probably did not exceed seven. His apprehensions as to the disaffection of many of the inhabitants had certainly not abated, for in a letter of the 29th he wrote:—

"I cannot conceal from Your Excellency my conviction that, unless some disaster attends their progress, that force will daily increase. My sentiments regarding the militia are already known, and it will not be supposed that their attachment to our cause can be very steady under the peculiar complexion of the present times."

On that day Captain Merritt, with a party of the Provincial Dragoons, had patrolled the lake road as far as St. Catharines with-

out meeting the enemy, but learned that some of their mounted men had been seen near DeCew's. A wounded militia officer, who had been paroled by them, informed him of their movement upon Queenston and affirmed his belief that they were preparing to pursue in force. He was at once sent on to warn General Vincent, while the dragoons were posted so as to observe all the approaches to the camp. At night Merritt retired to the Twenty, where he was overtaken by Major Pinkney and two other American officers bearing a flag of truce, ostensibly for the purpose of communicating an unimportant message from General Dearborn that the families of the officers and soldiers left behind at Niagara would be permitted to go to York or Kingston if Vincent would send a vessel to receive them. Their real mission was, of course, to obtain information to facilitate the pursuit.

On the last day of May Vincent resumed his march, and at night took up a very strong position on Beaseley's farm at Burlington Heights, where he then proposed making a stand until he received reinforcements or instructions to retire further. Flanked on one side by the lake and on the other by a broad and impassable marsh, his encampment could only be approached in front by a narrow neck of land blocked by a field work, behind which he planted the whole of his artillery. So important did he consider the occupation of this position that he declared "without it he could neither retain possession of the peninsula nor make a safe exit from it."

His last outpost, a party of thirty men that had remained at Fort Erie until the morning of the 28th to keep up a cannonade and destroy the works, joined him before morning, and Vincent then had at his command a compact and efficient body of eighteen hundred officers and men, with eleven guns. A braver and better disciplined force could not have been assembled on the continent. Five companies of the 8th or King's Regiment under Major (afterwards Major-General) James Ogilvie, in spite of appalling losses, both at York and Fort George, still numbered 382 of all ranks. The wing of the 41st mustered 400, but was notably deficient in officers, having only ten for five companies, and but two captains. The battalion of the 49th had been reduced by casualties to 631 officers and men, while the detachment of Royal Artillery (four officers and sixty men) was much too weak to work their guns without assistance from the infantry. The 49th was commanded by Major C. A. Plenderleath and the artillery by Major William Holcroft, well tried and excellent officers. The small detachments of the Royal Newfoundland and Glengarry Regiments had behaved splendidly in the recent action. The militia, including Runchey's colored corps and Merritt's Dragoons, numbered only 131, but these were men of un-

doubted loyalty and courage, thoroughly acquainted with the country and its inhabitants.

Vincent himself can scarcely be termed a brilliant soldier, but his talents were respectable and he was certainly a man of energy, resolution, and dauntless courage. These qualities had already so strongly impressed the Governor-General that he remarked that General Vincent had "displayed superior talents and ability and a determination worthy of a British soldier." He was then forty-eight years of age and had been thirty years in the army. Promotion had been slow, and long service in the West Indies, followed by a year in a French prison, had seriously injured his health. He had seen war in San Domingo, at the Helder and at Copenhagen in Nelson's great battle.

Lieut.-Colonel John Harvey, Deputy Adjutant-General and principal staff officer to this division, although thirteen years younger than the General, had a far more varied experience of actual warfare. As an ensign in the 80th he had carried the colors of his regiment through the severe campaign of 1794 in Holland. Next year he took part in the ill-starred expedition to Isle Dieu and Quiberon Bay, and in 1796 served at the conquest of the Cape of Good Hope. During the three following years he saw some hard bush-fighting in the interior of Ceylon, and shared in the glory of Abercrombie's expedition to Egypt. Returning to India, he served on the staff of General Dowdeswell during the Mahratta war of 1803-5, under Lord Lake, whose daughter he married. For the past three years he had been Assistant Adjutant-General for the south-eastern district of England. Arriving at Halifax in the winter, when the St. Lawrence was blocked by ice, he determined, without hesitation, to attempt the fatiguing march overland on snow shoes to Quebec, and, being detailed for duty in Upper Canada, he went on at once to Niagara. Great confidence was justly placed in his undoubted ability and experience of war in all its phases.

Lieut.-Colonel Cecil Bisshopp, Inspecting Field Officer, was another officer of more than ordinary talent and promise. The only surviving son of Sir Cecil Bisshopp, Bart., of Parham, Sussex, he had entered the guards at an early age, and as military attache had accompanied Sir John Borlase Warren in his embassy to St. Petersburg. On his return he accompanied his regiment to Spain and served during the entire campaign under Sir John Moore, ending with the memorable battle of Corunna. He acted as a staff officer during the siege of Flushing. Soon after this he was elected member of Parliament for the borough of Newport in the Isle of Wight, but in 1809 he volunteered for service in Portugal, where he acted as aide-de-camp to Sir Arthur Wellesley until he obtained his

majority. After war was declared by the United States he received his present appointment, and had commanded the right wing since November, 1812, when he had frustrated General Smyth's attempt at invasion near Fort Erie. "Though heir to an ancient title and a very considerable fortune," says the Gentleman's Magazine of that year, "nothing could damp his military ardor or lessen the zeal which ever stimulated him to the discharge of the duties of his profession. He was humane, generous, noble."

Ogilvie of the 8th, Plenderleath and Dennis of the 49th, the latter of whom had barely recovered from wounds received at Queenston, and Holcroft of the artillery, were all very capable officers. Captain H. B. O. Milnes, aide-de-camp to Sir George Prevost, a very promising young soldier, who was destined to meet his death in an unimportant skirmish a couple of months later, was temporarily attached to this division as a staff-officer.

In his new position Vincent felt tolerably secure for a few days at least, and sent an urgent message for a detachment of the 8th, which he expected to be on its march from Kingston, to hurry forward. At the same time he attempted to relieve the distress of Colonel Procter's division for want of provisions by sending a few trusty officers of the militia to purchase cattle and drive them to Detroit. The military chest was empty, and he was forced to borrow five hundred guineas from Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Clark for this purpose. The departure of the American fleet from Niagara was made known to him the same night, but he supposed at first that York was its destination and expressed the hope that the British squadron would soon be upon the lake to meet it and give him an opportunity of retaking Fort George. Yet at this moment, when he was already calmly proposing to take the offensive, his troops were suffering greatly for want of "shoes, stockings, blankets, tents and shirts"—in fact nearly everything that could contribute to their comfort in the field.

Upon the return of Major Pinkney's flag of truce to the American camp, General Winder was directed to move in pursuit, and on the morning of the 1st of June, he began his march with two companies of artillery, a squadron of dragoons, a detachment of riflemen and the 5th, 13th, 14th, and 16th regiments of United States Infantry. Heavy rains had fallen during the last few days and the roads were deep with mud, but his advance guard, consisting of 400 dragoons, riflemen and light infantry, moved forward that day to the Fifteen Mile Creek, while the main body arrived at St. Catharines. A second flag of truce was sent on to inform General Vincent that twenty-three British prisoners had been placed in close confinement as hostages for the safety of an equal number of

American soldiers of British birth taken at Queenston and sent to England to be tried for treason.

A deserter from Winder's brigade came into Vincent's lines next day and furnished a very accurate statement of his force and its movements. At the time the British general entertained no fears as to the probable result of an attack unless it was made by overwhelming numbers, and described his own troops as being "in great spirits" and "waiting most anxiously for an order to return to Fort George." John Norton had come in with a few Mohawks and declared his firm determination "to exert himself to annoy the enemy, and should he be thwarted in this country in prevailing upon a sufficient number of warriors to second his endeavors," that he would appeal to the Western Indians for support. The remainder of the Grand River Indians had returned to their settlements immediately after the capture of Fort George, and, having driven away their cattle and concealed their families in the woods, were now said to be assembling at a place fourteen miles from Burlington, but it was hinted that they were discreetly holding off through fear of losing their lands if the Americans succeeded.

On the 2d, Winder's light troops drove Merritt's videttes back from the Twenty, and on the following day advanced to the Forty Mile Creek, taking three of his troopers and forcing the remainder to retire behind Stoney Creek quite worn out by fatigue and loss of sleep. General Chandler was then instructed to join Winder, with a third company of artillery, another detachment of rifles and the 9th, 23d and 25th regiments of infantry, and assume command of the whole force. On the evening of the 4th he overtook Winder at the Forty, and advanced next morning with the intention of marching across Burlington Beach and turning Vincent's left flank. At three o'clock, Captain Hindman, who was leading the advance, consisting of three companies of artillery acting as light infantry, Lytle's company of riflemen and Selden's troop of dragoons, came upon the British out-picket commanded by Captain Williams of the 49th. The picket retired through the woods, firing briskly as they went, and finally made a determined stand in and about a saw mill where the main road crossed Stoney Creek. One of Hindman's men having been killed and several wounded in an unsuccessful attempt to dislodge them, General Chandler ordered up the 25th Infantry to support the riflemen, when the British abandoned their position and disappeared in the woods.

Colonel Harvey advanced to support Williams with the light company of the 8th and a few dragoons, but found that the Americans had already abandoned the pursuit and were preparing to encamp. This gave him an excellent opportunity to reconnoitre

their position, of which he made good use. He picked up one or two prisoners and was joined by a deserter, from whom he obtained some valuable information. On his return he reported that "the enemy's camp guards were few and negligent; that his line of encampment was long and broken; that his artillery was feebly supported; and that several of his corps were placed too far to the rear to aid in repelling a blow which might be rapidly struck in front." A piece of woods extending close to the front of their encampment would serve at once to mask the advance of an assailing force and to cover its retreat. He warmly advised an attack that night. Vincent was the more disposed to assent as he had become convinced that his own position was scarcely tenable against so large a force. "This position, though strong for a large body," he wrote, "is far too extensive for me to hope to make any successful stand against the superior force understood to be advancing against me in three separate points, viz., by the lake, by the centre road, and by the mountain on my right. The attack, I knew, would not be delayed; I had neither time nor inclination precipitately to retreat from my position." He had already for some time been considering the advisability of an offensive movement if an opportunity offered, for on the 4th he had informed the Adjutant-General: "By a report I have just received from my outposts, an attack cannot be far distant. As circumstances are at present, I am determined, *if possible, to be beforehand with them.*" Since writing that, however, the enemy's force had been nearly doubled and the chances of failure proportionately increased.

General Chandler, who now commanded the American troops at Stoney Creek, had been a blacksmith in early life and "the poorest man in the settlement" where he lived. He became a tavern keeper and soon grew wealthy. In 1805 he was elected a representative in Congress from Massachusetts and served two terms. As a reward for political activity, he was appointed in the first place a Major-General in the militia of his own State, and, on the increase of the regular army at the declaration of war, a Brigadier-General in the service of the United States. He was then fifty-three years of age and had not the slightest military education or experience, and as one of his associates remarked, "the march from the anvil and the dram shop in the wane of life to the dearest actions of the tented field is not to be achieved in a single campaign."

Winder, his second in command, had been an able and successful lawyer in Baltimore. Once a warm Federalist, he had lately changed sides and his defection was at once rewarded by a commission as Lieutenant-Colonel of the 14th United States Infantry, then being recruited in Maryland. In November, 1812, he had

directed the unsuccessful operations for the passage of the river below Fort Erie and acquitted himself creditably. During the winter he had been summoned to Washington to advise the Cabinet, and was supposed to be intimately acquainted with the plan of campaign. "Colonel Winder is here," says a contemporary letter, "a kind of Secretary of War, and, like Bonaparte, has a room full of maps, plans, &c., &c., enveloped in which you can just see his little head, and of that little head much is expected." His aptitude and ability so strongly impressed even a veteran like Harvey that he declared that he possessed "more talent than all the rest of the Yankee generals put together."

General Chandler asserted in his defence that he told Winder, "if the enemy intended to fight them, he would commence the attack before morning, and with this expectation arrangements were made." It was growing dark when the light troops were recalled. None of his men had eaten during the march, and were then ordered to build fires and cook some distance from the ground it was intended to occupy for the night, the light infantry and 25th regiment in the meadow about 150 yards in front, and the remainder on a high ridge in rear and to the left of the road. About eight hundred men, consisting of the 13th and 14th regiments of infantry and Archer's artillery company, were detached under Colonel Christie to take up a position near the mouth of the creek for the protection of a flotilla of boats conveying the baggage and supplies for the division which was expected to arrive there during the night. It was nearly midnight when the remainder of the force received orders to form their encampment, those in front being instructed to leave their line of fires burning, while the fires on the high ground in rear were to be extinguished. The ground selected for the men to lie on was a piece of level upland, protected in front by a steep descent, along the brow of which ran a stout fence of logs and rails. On either side of this fence a number of trees had been felled years before, but not cleared away, about which thorns and briars had grown up to form an almost impenetrable thicket in some places. The low, level meadows beneath were spongy with long continued rain. "On the left the mountain and woods shut down so close upon the meadow as to render that flank quite secure, and the right was equally protected by a swamp, which approached it in that quarter." Six field guns belonging to Leonard's and Towson's companies were planted on the brow of the upland, to command the main road to Burlington. The 25th regiment was posted on the right of the artillery, the infantry in rear was instructed to move obliquely forward towards the road and fence, and in the event of an attack, the 23rd was to form in rear

of the guns with the 16th, 5th and light troops on its left. A squadron of dragoons was encamped on the road behind. The 9th Infantry, being the weakest regiment in the division, was detailed to form the rearguard, nearly a mile away. A strong main guard was mounted at a small church or meeting house, almost half a mile in advance, with an outlying picket on the right of the meadow near the edge of the swamp, and another on the left, close to the base of the mountain. A chain of sentinels was then posted around the entire camp. As these arrangements were made in the dark, it is probable that they were very imperfectly executed. The soldiers were ordered to ground arms, take off knapsacks and lie down on their blankets as they stood in their companies and sections. The artillery horses stood in their harness near the guns.

From a return prepared by Major Johnson, Assistant Adjutant General, it appears that General Chandler's division mustered 2,643 rank and file that morning before marching from Forty Mile Creek. Including the officers and other supernumeraries, its total strength must have slightly exceeded 3000 of all ranks. One hundred and eighty men remained behind on guard or sick, and, eight hundred having been detached to the mouth of the creek, left about two thousand in camp.

The two generals remained together for several hours in Chandler's tent, which was pitched close beside Gage's house, and it was nearly one o'clock when the 25th regiment moved into its position for the night. The men, excited by the events of the day and the near prospect of a battle, were noisy and wakeful. Several times after that the fires on the ridge blazed up or were rekindled, and the orders for their extinction were repeated.

Just before midnight the column detailed for the attack marched out of the lines at Burlington, seven miles distant. It consisted of 280 officers and men of the 8th, under Major Ogilvie, and 424 of the 49th, commanded by Major Plenderleath. Colonel Harvey conducted the force and appears to have directed its operations, but was accompanied by General Vincent and a small staff of volunteers, eager to share in the perils of the enterprise, among whom were Brigade Major J. B. Glegg, Captain P. L. Chambers of the 41st, who had just arrived with despatches from Detroit, and Captains McDouall and Milnes, both aides to the Governor General, lately sent from Kingston on a similar service. Colonel Bisshopp, with the remainder of the division, manned the works at Burlington in readiness to cover the retreat in the event of disaster.

The weather was as favorable as could be well desired for an attack with a small force. A cloudy sky and a light mist rising from the wet ground made the darkness almost impenetrable. Al-

though the mud impeded the march it effectually muffled the sound of their footsteps.

The light companies of the two regiments, led by Captain Munday of the 8th and Lieut. Danford of the 49th, headed the column, followed by the remainder of the 49th in the centre and the 8th in rear. It was nearly three o'clock when the advance came upon the first American outpost. The sentry on the road, being half asleep and quite ignorant of his duties, was taken prisoner without noise, and readily gave every information in his power. Nothing could then be seen of the main guard, but it was soon discovered that they had gone to sleep in the church, where they were surrounded and captured to a man. The remaining sentries "were approached and bayoneted in the quietest manner," and the eager light companies dashed forward among the smouldering camp fires in the meadow, which they supposed were still surrounded by sleeping enemies. To their great surprise they found them absolutely deserted, and halting within their glare hurriedly began to fix flints. The groans of the dying and the rush of the advancing column alarmed some of the surviving sentries, who discharged their arms at random in the darkness, and in an instant the entire camp was aroused.

General Chandler, who had not gone to sleep, instantly mounted his horse and gave orders for the troops next his tent to form for action, which was done in a moment, as they had only to rise to their feet and seize their arms. He then sent an officer to direct General Winder to advance to the fence on the brow of the height with the infantry on the left. From this position the British column could be seen by the light of the fires beneath in the act of deploying to the left, while the American line of battle was quite invisible to them. The American light infantry and 5th and 25th regiments began firing, followed by the artillery. The 49th suffered severely while deploying, and was thrown into great confusion. At this critical moment Major Plenderleath, with the assistance of Sergeant-Major Alexander Fraser, hastily assembled fifteen or twenty men and rushed at the guns, whose position was disclosed by a vivid sheet of flame. Two discharges swept harmlessly over their heads as they climbed the height, and before they could reload a third time the gunners were bayoneted or flying for their lives. Without hesitation this gallant little band plunged into the midst of the nearest body of infantry, which instantly dispersed, leaving the artillery horses and ammunition waggons in their possession. Plenderleath's timely onset was decisive. The remainder of the 49th came rapidly to his support. The American line was cut in two, four of their guns taken, and the others silenced.

Ogilvie led the 8th against the 5th and 16th United States Infantry forming the left of their line. Lieut. Hooper, commanding one of the companies, was killed in this charge, but the regiment carried the heights, entirely dispersing the 16th and driving the 5th back upon the dragoons.

Meanwhile General Chandler, while riding to the right, had his horse shot under him, and was much stunned and bruised by the fall. Returning on foot towards the artillery, which he noticed had ceased firing, he walked directly into the midst of the 49th. He attempted to conceal himself under a gun carriage, but was ignominiously dragged out by the strong arm of gigantic Sergeant Fraser, to whom he gave up his sword. A few minutes later General Winder was dismounted, and taken prisoner in a very similar manner.

The scattered and bewildered American infantry made several creditable attempts to rally. Wherever they could be seen they were immediately charged and dispersed. Their dragoons mounted and attempted a charge, which ended in riding down some of their own 16th Infantry. Desultory fighting continued in various parts of the field until day began to break, when Harvey found himself in possession of the enemy's camp it is true, but with his small force much scattered and diminished. Officers had lost their commands in the darkness, and wandered blindly about the field seeking them. General Vincent himself had disappeared, and was supposed to have been killed or taken prisoner. Companies had become separated from their battalions, and sections from their companies. His loss in killed and wounded had been severe, particularly among the officers. Major Dennis had received two gunshot wounds and was sorely bruised by the fall of his horse, which had been killed under him. Ensign Drury, who carried the King's color of the 49th, was mortally wounded, but struggled forward until he could give it into the keeping of another officer. Brevet-Major Clerk, Captain Manners, Adjutant Stean of the 49th, Major Ogilvie, Captains Munday and Goldrick, Lieutenants Boyd and Weyland of the 8th, and Fort-Major Taylor, was also among the injured. A large escort had been sent off with the prisoners, and Harvey could not have had five hundred men left fit for duty at this time. He was encumbered by many wounded men, and the enemy, although driven from the field, was not routed, but seemed to be assembling in force to renew the contest. They still had several field-guns, and their cavalry, and two or three infantry regiments had taken little or no part in the action. Harvey prudently determined to retreat before they had recovered from their confusion and could discern the weakness of their assailants and bring forward these fresh troops.

Most of the wounded were collected and removed, but several, including Major Clerk and Captain Manners, were too badly hurt to be taken away. Two of the captured guns, after being removed some distance, were abandoned for want of horses to haul them. A brass howitzer, with its limber and tumbril and one iron six-pounder were brought off, with nine captured horses. Besides the two Generals, Major VanDeVenter of their staff, Captain Steel commanding the 16th Regiment, Captain Mills of the 23d, five subalterns and 116 non-commissioned officers and privates were taken prisoners.

The British casualties on this occasion amounted to twenty-three killed, one hundred and thirty-six wounded and fifty-five missing, or rather more than a fourth of the whole number engaged. The 8th lost eighty-three, and the 49th one hundred and thirty of all ranks.

That of their opponents is more difficult to ascertain. No official and detailed return was ever published. One account, which has been frequently repeated, places it at seventeen killed, thirty-eight wounded, and only ninety-nine missing, whereas, one hundred and twenty-five prisoners were certainly brought off. Even this, is greatly at variance with official statements. General Dearborn, in a letter written from Fort George on the evening of the same day, asserted the entire loss did not exceed thirty, and remarked "that by some strange fatality both Generals Chandler and Winder were taken prisoners." Probably he had not then learned the full extent of the disaster. The command devolved upon Colonel Burn of the 2d Dragoons. An extract from his official letter was published, but it contains no statement of loss. Major Smith, who commanded the 25th Infantry, reported that his regiment alone lost forty-two in killed and wounded, and there is no reason to suppose that it suffered more than several others. The 16th, for instance, after losing its commander fell into irretrievable confusion, some of its companies firing on each other. Unofficial accounts frankly admitted a serious reverse.

One letter, printed in *Poulson's American*, published in Philadelphia, dated at Fort George on the 9th of June, relates that "at daybreak we could not muster more than sixty of our regiment, the remainder being killed, wounded or prisoners. Of the fine battalion of artillery not more than seventy were left. Captain Biddle's company only mustered twenty men. The British carried off two pieces of cannon and two or three hundred prisoners. We took about sixty prisoners."

Another private letter from Buffalo, which found its way into

the columns of the *Boston Messenger*, gives this version of the affair: "We were surprised at 2.30 a. m., and lost three captains, one assistant quartermaster-general and three hundred and fifty rank and file. We took about fifty prisoners in the woods, after the action. Two of the regiments kept up their fire until daylight, when the 16th, under Captain McChesney, discovered the British removing the cannon and re-captured two pieces."

Christie's detachment from the mouth of the creek arrived on the field soon after Harvey retreated, and the camp was re-occupied. Burn instantly sent a message to inform General Dearborn of the capture of the two generals and convened a council of the principal officers, which determined to retire to the Forty Mile Creek without waiting for orders from headquarters. A quantity of baggage and provisions was destroyed, and the retreat began shortly before noon.

On the other hand, General Vincent's mysterious disappearance caused some confusion in the British camp. The command devolved on Lieut.-Colonel Bisshopp. Captain McDouall produced a letter from the Governor General to Vincent, authorizing him to retreat to Kingston if he considered his position untenable, but instructing him in that event to send the remainder of the 41st and detachments of the Glengarry and Newfoundland regiments to reinforce the Right Division at Detroit. As the full effect of the attack was still unknown, Bisshopp determined to call a council of war to decide what course to pursue, and Captain Merritt rode back to the field of battle to look for their missing general. His search was fruitless, but he made two prisoners, single-handed, and discovered — that the enemy was panic-stricken and preparing to retreat. Before the council could assemble, Vincent returned to the lines without his horse and hat. Having been dismounted and separated from his staff in the conflict, he was obliged to take shelter in the woods, where he lay concealed for several hours until he found an opportunity to escape. Instead of retreating, a strong detachment was pushed forward to Stoney Creek, and an hour or two later Captain Milnes was on his way to Kingston with the prisoners and Colonel Harvey's official account of the action.

When Colonel Burn's messenger arrived at Fort George, General Dearborn instantly instructed Major-General Morgan Lewis to join the division at Stoney Creek with the 6th United States Infantry, take command and bring the enemy to action at once. Brigadier-Generals Boyd and Swartwout were ordered to accompany him as brigade commanders. Before they were ready to start, it began to rain and Lewis postponed his own departure until morning. According to General Porter, "he could not go sixteen miles to fight the enemy, not because his force was too small, but

because he had not wagons to carry tents and camp kettles for his army. His own baggage moves in two stately wagons—one drawn by two, the other by four horses, carrying the various furniture of a Secretary of State's office, a lady's dressing chamber, an alderman's dining room and the contents of a grocer's shop." In fact, Lewis appears to have been an American counterpart of the Austrian General Mack.

Yet next day, when it was known that Burn had decided to retreat, he advanced so rapidly that he arrived at the camp at Forty Mile Creek at five o'clock in the afternoon. On the road he was overtaken, first by a message from General Dearborn to announce that several vessels had appeared off the mouth of the Niagara, steering towards the head of the lake, which were supposed to belong to the British squadron, directing him to return with his entire division as soon as possible; and then by a second, stating that it was possible that the vessels in sight were part of the American fleet, and that a few hours delay would enable him to ascertain the fact and to act accordingly.

Lewis found Burn encamped on the narrow plain between the lake and mountain. His men were still much dispirited. "I can scarce believe," Colonel Miller of the 6th wrote to his wife, "that you could have been more glad to see me than that army was!" An hour later several British warships came in sight, and although when night fell they had not approached the shore very closely, the American General gave orders for his men to lie upon their arms in expectation of another nocturnal visit.

On the 3d of June, Sir George Prevost having returned to Kingston from his late expedition, received Vincent's despatch announcing the fall of Fort George and his retreat towards Burlington. At the same time he knew that the American fleet had returned to Sackett's Harbor the day before. Major Thomas Evans was directed to embark at once with five companies of the 8th Regiment, reduced by casualties to 200 rank and file. Two hundred and fifty men of the Royal Newfoundland had been already sent on board to act as marines, and before night Sir James Yeo left the harbor with a squadron consisting of his flagship, the *Wolfe*, of 23 guns and 200 men, the *Royal George*, of 21 guns and 175 men, the brig *Melville* of 14 guns and 100 men, the schooners *Moir*, 14 guns and 100 men, *Sidney Smith*, 12 guns and 80 men, and *Beresford*, of 8 guns and 70 men, besides several light gun-boats.

On the morning of the 7th he appeared off the mouth of the Niagara and sent his light vessels close into the shore to reconnoitre. To the interested spectators in the American lines the vessels seemed at one time to be approaching the mouth of the river, and at another

to be standing towards the head of the lake. Before night they were seen to stand away in a north-westerly direction. General Dearborn's hopes that the vessels in sight might be some of his own were dispelled by a letter from Chauncey, informing him that he did not expect to leave Sackett's Harbor until the end of the month, and he became much alarmed in consequence. A third message was despatched in all haste, to inform General Lewis that he suspected that an attack was contemplated on his camp, as two small schooners had been engaged for three or four hours in the minute examination of the shore, and he feared they might take on board additional troops at the head of the lake and land them there before he could return. He was instructed to send back the dragoons and about eight hundred infantry "with all possible despatch," and follow with the remainder of the division "as soon as practicable." He was particularly cautioned to secure the boats conveying the baggage against capture. The entire force at Fort George was kept under arms all night. At two o'clock in the morning several shots were fired by the picquets on the lake shore; the alarm was beaten and every preparation made to resist an assault, when it was ascertained that the firing had been directed at some of their own boats returning from the Forty Mile Creek with the wounded and some prisoners taken at the Stoney Creek fight.

Yeo had received orders to land the troops as near York as possible. Some time during the morning of the 7th, Major Evans and Lieut. Finch of the 8th were put on shore by one of the smaller vessels and walked to the town, where they learned the result of the late action, and that General Vincent was said to be pursuing the enemy. Evans returned on board at once to urge the Commodore to menace the American encampment while he sent on Finch by land to assure Vincent of the co-operation of the squadron.

At daybreak General Lewis discovered several of the British vessels abreast of his camp and not more than a mile from shore. He instantly began to strike his tents and prepare for a retreat. There was a dead calm and the larger vessels were consequently prevented from approaching closer, but the schooner *Beresford*, Captain Francis Spilsbury, was towed by the boats of the squadron within gun-shot and began firing. She was soon joined by several gun-boats commanded by Lieut. Charles Anthony of the *Wolfe*. About the same time a small party of Indians appeared on the brow of the heights overlooking the encampment, and by their whoops and desultory musketry caused some confusion. The artillery companies of Towson and Archer replied to the *Beresford* from four field-guns, using shot heated in a field furnace hastily constructed for the purpose. After a short and absolutely harmless

cannonade, the British vessels retired out of range and the whole squadron bore away towards the head of the lake. The Indians retreated on the approach of a party of light infantry, led by Lieut. Eldridge, Adjutant of the 13th Regiment, who was destined to meet his death at their hands a month later. Just at this moment, about six o'clock a. m., General Dearborn's orders to return to Fort George were delivered to General Lewis. Arrangements for the retreat were conducted with much haste and confusion. Tents and camp kettles were abandoned. Part of the baggage was loaded on the boats, which were then allowed to put off without a sufficient escort. At ten o'clock Lewis began his march, harassed on flank and rear by the Indians and militia, which soon assembled in considerable numbers.

Upon Yeo's arrival at Burlington, Vincent had already given orders for the disembarkation of the 8th when a messenger arrived with information that the enemy were retreating. These were promptly countermanded, and the squadron sailed in pursuit, while Major Dennis, with the grenadier company of the 49th, a strong company of the 41st and two 3-pounder field-pieces, was directed to advance by land. It was then four o'clock in the afternoon, and as Lewis had easily six hours start the prospect of overtaking him must have seemed slight at the time, but, favored by a steady though moderate breeze which had just sprung up, the squadron made such a rapid run that in three hours the troops were landed at the Forty-Mile Creek and were in possession of the American camp. Many tents had been left standing and there were undoubted signs of panic in the arms and baggage abandoned along the line of retreat. The *Beresford* and other light vessels went in chase of the flotilla of boats which took the place of a baggage train to the retiring column, and were rapidly overhauling them when they were run ashore and abandoned by their crews. Twenty large *bateaux* containing the hospital stores, provisions, and remaining baggage of General Chandler's division were taken or destroyed. Major Dennis was immediately directed to advance to the Twenty with his command and push forward the dragoons and Indians within sight of the enemy's outposts at Fort George. Lewis, however, continued his retreat with such rapidity that he arrived at Niagara next day and Dennis was unable to overtake even the rear guard, although his movement was not without some important results.

"Many prisoners were taken," wrote Major Evans, "the spirit of the loyal part of the country aroused, the little remaining baggage of the enemy destroyed, his panic increased and confirmed, and, which is of the utmost consequence, certain information obtained of all his movements. On the evening of the 9th the

enemy set fire to and abandoned Fort Erie, withdrew his force from Chippawa and Queenston, concentrating them at Fort George, and hastily began throwing up field-works, either there to defend himself or cross the river by means of boats, which he holds in a constant state of readiness, according to circumstances."

During the three days occupied by this pursuit, the 8th, 9th and 10th of June, eighty prisoners were captured, and 500 tents, 200 camp kettles, 150 stand of arms and a great quantity of baggage taken or destroyed. The total loss of the American army in the battle and the retreat must have been nearly five hundred men. A contemporary newspaper, the *Buffalo Gazette*, estimated that half of that number had been made prisoners.

Vincent then felt so certain of his ability to cope with the invaders in the field that he determined to send the remainder of the 41st Regiment to Procter, who was clamoring for reinforcements, and on the 10th moved his headquarters to the Forty.

"The principal objects," said Harvey in a letter to Colonel Baynes, "General Vincent has had in making a forward movement with the greatest part of the troops to this place, are to communicate with and give every support and assistance in his power to Sir James Yeo and the fleet; to be at hand to take advantage of the success which we sanguinely anticipate from his approaching encounter with Commodore Chauncey; to give encouragement to the militia and yeomanry of the country, who are everywhere rising upon the fugitive Americans and making them prisoners, and withholding all supplies from them: and lastly, (and perhaps chiefly,) for the purpose of sparing the resources of the country in our rear and drawing the supplies of this army as long as possible from the country immediately in the enemy's vicinity. Our position here secures all these important objects, and so long as our fleet is triumphant it is a secure one. Should any disaster (which God forbid) befall that, we have no longer any business *here*, or in this part of *Canada*."

Learning on the 14th that Major De Haren had marched from Kingston five or six days before with a reinforcement of four hundred regular infantry for his division, and nearly as many Indians from Lower Canada, he resolved to wait for his arrival before advancing further. He then intended to move his headquarters to the Twenty and push forward the whole body of light troops to annoy the enemy, "whose fears were said to be as strong as ever." To accomplish this more effectually he requested General Procter to send him a body of the Western Indians, and promised in return, on their arrival, to detach the rest of the 41st Regiment to his assistance.

On the same day the Governor General issued a proclamation from Kingston in reply to Lieut.-Colonel Preston's singular manifesto of the 30th May, in which he called upon "all the loyal and well-disposed in this Province, who are not under the immediate control or within the power of the enemy, to use every possible effort in repelling the foe and driving him from our soil, assuring them that they will be powerfully aided by the reinforcements daily arriving at this post and pressing on to their support."

The evacuation and destruction of Fort Erie were actually accomplished in compliance with instructions received by General Dearborn from the Secretary of War, who wrote to him that in event of the capture of both Fort Erie and Fort George he was to select which of these was to be held as a military post, where he would concentrate his whole force, while all other forts and redoubts were to be dismantled and demolished and all "Indian establishments" destroyed. The unforeseen appearance of the British squadron, combined with Chandler's reverse, caused him to obey in great haste, and abandon everything that lay outside of the picket line which he had drawn around Niagara and Fort George. Preston's promise of protection was ignored, and such of the inhabitants as had shown a disposition to actively assist the invaders found themselves compelled either to fly from the Province altogether or take refuge in the American camp.

Up to this time General Dearborn had shown a marked inclination to treat all classes of the population with justice and lenity. Several wounded officers and privates belonging to the militia who had been taken prisoners were permitted to return to their homes on parole. He called a meeting of the magistrates, twelve of whom attended, and directed them to continue the exercise of their powers, and several minor offences were punished by them during the first days of the American occupation. Colonel Preston's proclamation, distributed from Fort Erie on the 30th May, declared that as he found the people in the vicinity "anxious to obtain special protections" all who "would come forward and voluntarily enroll their names with him and claim the protection of the United States shall have their property and personal rights secured to them inviolate." At the same time he "solemnly warned those who may obstinately continue inimical that they are bringing on themselves the most rigorous and disastrous consequences, as they will be pursued and treated with that spirit of retaliation which the treatment of the American prisoners in the hands of the British so justly inspires."

The disaffected, the timorous, and apathetic, hastened to comply with his demand, and avert danger of arrest. A letter from the

American camp, dated on the 5th of June, relates that "many persons have come in from distant parts since our arrival and been paroled. Several of them reside on the banks of the Grand River, to the middle and lower parts of which most of the Indians have retired, dreading the reward of their cruelty."

In this way the names of 507 persons were obtained to a list of paroled militiamen, which are generally represented as having been made prisoners in the battle of the 27th May, although very few of them had even borne arms at any time.

General Dearborn undoubtedly believed that he was carrying out the instructions given to him by the Secretary of War in April, just before the attack upon York, when he said, "As regards the course of conduct to be pursued with regard to the inhabitants of Canada the laws of war must govern. Persons behaving peaceably may be protected, but all must be disarmed and the militia paroled. Any persons made prisoners, either of regulars or militia actually armed, must be sent within our limits."

On the 5th of May the small village of Havre de Grace, in Maryland, a rather important station on the main post-road between Philadelphia and the national capital, was partially destroyed in an attack by the boats of a British squadron. This caused much alarm and exasperation in that part of the country, and with this event fresh in his mind the Secretary wrote that: "If the enemy still adheres to the barbarism of attacking and burning defenceless towns on our sea coast, and of employing savage auxiliaries to butcher women and children on our land frontier, our better and more humane principles will yield to the necessity of the case, and instead of them a rigid and inflexible retaliation must be substituted."

Early in June this was followed by a letter, dated on the 26th May, in which the Secretary announced that "owing to embarrassments thrown in the way of exchange by Sir George Prevost and Sir J. B. Warren, make these rules indispensable: 1st. All British officers and men, whether regulars or militia, are to be removed to some place of confinement in the United States. 2d. All male inhabitants of Canada subject to the militia law are to be considered as prisoners and removed as such."

General Dearborn was so reluctant to enforce these harsh instructions that he not only deferred doing so for several days, but warmly remonstrated. "On taking possession of this place," he wrote to the Secretary of War on the 8th of June, "the inhabitants came in in numbers and gave their paroles. I have promised them protection. A large proportion are friendly to the United States, and fixed in their hatred to the Government of Great

Britain. If they should be made prisoners of war and taken from their families it would have a most unfavorable effect on our military operations in the provinces. The whole country would be driven to a state of desperation, and satisfy them beyond doubt that we had no intention of holding the provinces. The same effect would be produced on the Indians, who are now principally quiet for fear of losing their valuable tract of land on Grand River. I had authorized the civil magistrates to continue in the due exercise of their functions, and cannot with propriety revoke this authority, unless specially directed."

The spontaneous rising of the militia against the invaders in the next few days appears to have convinced Dearborn that he had quite misjudged the feelings of the people and removed his scruples. A number of militia officers and others living within reach were seized and deported to Fort Niagara.

"The dragoons and riflemen," says a private letter dated at Newark on the 13th, "are out every day in scouting parties, and seldom return without prisoners. The day before yesterday they brought in fourteen of the militia who had been paroled and were caught with arms. One of these fellows confessed he had assisted in taking twenty-three of our men when the army moved down from the Forty-Mile Creek. With this fellow it will go hard, and I hope there will be a more vigorous course pursued with the inhabitants who are opposed to our cause. This class are principally Scots and Orangemen, and many of them obtain all the information they can and forward it to the enemy."

A correspondent of the *National Advocate* gave this account of the arrest of Captain Jacob A. Ball of the Lincoln Militia, who is described as "an active and cruel commander of Indians:"

"When the party arrived at Six-Mile Creek, Sergeant James Rouse volunteered with two dragoons, and proceeding to the Short Hills discovered the house where Ball was supposed to be, at nine o'clock in the evening. In order to reach the place they were compelled to pass within half a mile of a British picquet guard. On entering the house, Rouse was told that Ball was not there, but he fired his pistol through a door he could not break open, when Ball opened it and surrendered himself with his guard, five in number. They were all placed on horses and carried eighteen miles through the enemy's country to Fort George."

A memorandum by Captain Ball states that he was taken prisoner on the 11th of June at the Ten-Mile Creek, while on command from Burlington to ascertain the position of the enemy at Fort George and vicinity.

On the 19th and two following days, about one hundred per-

sons were suddenly arrested in and about Niagara, among whom were nearly all the best known and most respected of the inhabitants.

A letter dated at "Flamboro', U. C.," June 20th, published in a Montreal newspaper, observes that "plunder is the order of the day among the Americans, and the personal liberty of the inhabitants is taken away from them. Several disaffected persons have joined the enemy—among them the late editor of the *Guardian*. Many of the inhabitants have been sent as prisoners to the United States. Among them Messrs. Edwards, Muirhead, Dickson, Symington, Rev.'d Mr. Addison, Powell, Heron, Baldwin, Clench, James Ball, DeCew, John Crooks, Lawe, two Kerrs, and McEwen—the last four suffering from wounds received at Fort George." A list of some of the prisoners made by William Dickson, one of their number, in the following January, contains the names of Haggai Skinner, "a farmer 64 years of age"; Joseph Doan, "farmer;" John Ramsay, "a boy of Stamford," and John McFarland, "boat builder," all of whom were detained until December, 1813, in close confinement.*

A letter from Newark dated on the 22d June and published in *Poulson's American* of Philadelphia relates that "the most conspicuous and violent of the British partisans are taken up and sent over to the United States. At the solicitation of the inhabitants who are friendly to our cause, the General has agreed to introduce a few Indians to combat those of the enemy. In desultory warfare our men seldom gain much, as the enemy is best acquainted with the paths, by-roads, and country in general."

Commenting on the impolicy of this line of conduct in the light of subsequent events six months later, when the American frontier had been laid waste by Drummond's avenging army, the *Manlis Times*, a New York newspaper, remarked: "After Fort George was taken by our troops a system of plunder and outrage was adopted and commenced to an extent almost unequalled in the annals of French warfare. Citizens, while peaceably attending to their business, were seized and sent across the river, and almost at the same time their property was destroyed. Those who were paroled and promised protection, on suspicion of their possessing moveable property were arrested and their property pillaged. The notorious traitor, Willcocks, was commissioned to raise a body of marauders expressly to plunder, burn, and destroy."

— The unwisdom of this system was soon made evident by the

* Cpts. McEwen, DeCoe (born in New Jersey), Lorimer, Lieuts. Williams (born in Long Island), Humberlin (born in Philadelphia), Stewart, Luke, Duval and Lamont, Ensigns Myers and Kerr, Midshipman Lawe, Sailing-Masters Campbell and Barwis, Seamen Rogers, Byles, and Wood escaped from prison in Philadelphia on April 20th by sawing off the bars of their prison and letting themselves down by blankets. Ensigns Myers and Kerr and five others have been taken.

Salem Gazette, April 29th, 1814.

increased activity of the militia, who seldom permitted a patrol or foraging party to advance very far from the lines without being attacked.

On the tenth of June the Americans scored the solitary advantage to be derived from their temporary occupation of Fort Erie. This was the release of five armed vessels which had been detained at the navy yard at Black Rock by the batteries across the river. Four hundred men and many yoke of oxen were employed for six days in towing them up the rapids, and they set sail for Erie, heavily laden with stores of all kinds necessary for the equipment of the two ships building there. This was an object of supreme importance, for by means of these vessels the Americans gained control of Lake Erie and eventually drove Procter from the Detroit frontier.

On the same day a cavalry patrol guided by Totman, a disaffected inhabitant, chased Captain Merritt away from the Ten and captured four of his dragoons. They did not attempt to maintain the position, and Merritt re-occupied it next morning and carefully examined the roads leading to Fort George without meeting an enemy. On the 12th, however, his party was surprised while resting during the heat of the day by a numerous body of dragoons, and only escaped through the coolness and presence of mind of his only sentry. This trooper, whose name is not recorded, after retiring rapidly to the summit of a rise on the road, halted, wheeled about, and shouted loudly to an imaginary party in their rear to come on, which caused his pursuers to pause and enabled his comrades to assemble and mount. Merritt rode off barely in time to elude a second detachment of the enemy, which had taken a circuit by way of De-Cew's Falls to cut off his retreat. One of their scouts, misled by their blue uniforms, rode into the midst of his men and gave them important information before he was undeceived and made prisoner.

It was then made evident that if a small force of active light infantry was detailed to act with the Provincial Dragoons they would be enabled to maintain their ground and perform scouting duty with more effect. James FitzGibbon, Adjutant of the 49th Regiment, an officer of great enterprise and address as well as uncommon physical strength, was selected to command a company of volunteers from the regular troops for this purpose. In three days fifty picked men were equipped, with whom he advanced on the 16th to De-Cew's stone house on the crest of the mountain, at the junction of two important roads, where he established his headquarters and pushed forward his pickets beyond the Ten Mile Creek.

Nearly at the same time General Dearborn resorted to a sim-

-ilar expedient. Finding himself at a marked disadvantage for want of a body of men intimately acquainted with the country and qualified to act as scouts and guides, he authorized the formation of a battalion of mounted riflemen from among the refugees that were daily seeking shelter in his lines. Joseph Willcocks, the former editor of a local newspaper, and even then a member of the Assembly of the Province for one of the divisions of the County of Lincoln, was nominated as Lieutenant Colonel and Benajah Mallory, member of the Assembly for Middlesex, as major of this corps. Markle, Totman and other noted refugees were also rewarded by commissions. The services of another troop of volunteer mounted infantry, organized by Dr. Cyrenius Chapin of Buffalo, then sheriff of Niagara County, for the purpose, as it was stated, "of clearing the frontier of persons inimical to the United States," were also accepted and Chapin was ordered to join the army at Fort George. On the 16th he crossed the river at Black Rock with about fifty men. Two days were employed in scouring the country between Fort Erie and Chippawa, and on the 19th he marched into camp, his men loaded with plunder and followed by the execrations of the outraged inhabitants.

Meanwhile Sir James Yeo had been actively engaged in intercepting supplies destined for Dearborn's army, which was now entirely dependent on transport by water from various magazines along the south shore of the lake. He took on board sixty volunteers from the 8th to act as additional marines, and on the 12th sailed from Forty Mile Creek in search of the enemy. Colonel Harvey relates that he was "fully impressed with the necessity of having a *commanding* breeze before he makes his attack. In a light one or calm, the enemy's flotilla of small vessels would have an incalculable advantage."

In the evening he chased two schooners loaded with hospital stores and provisions into the Eighteen Mile Creek, out of which they were brought by the boats of the squadron just as a body of troops marched up from Fort Niagara for their protection. Yeo then continued his course eastward, looking into all the bays and creeks along the American shore. Two other schooners and several supply boats, bound from Oswego to Niagara, fell into his hands during the next two days, and on the 15th a landing was effected at the mouth of the Genesee, where a large boat loaded with 1200 bushels of corn was taken, and 450 barrels of provisions removed from a public storehouse. On the 16th he anchored in Kingston harbor, barely long enough to take on board the grenadiers and one battalion company of the Royal Scots, which had arrived from Montreal during his absence, and sailed at once for Oswego. Dis-

covering nothing at that place to justify a descent, he proceeded westward along the south shore of the lake as far as Big Sodus Bay. A village of about thirty houses, which had been named Troupville, after an active politician of the day, but was more commonly known as Sodus, stood on the high ridge of land which almost surrounds that fine basin of water. The bar at the mouth of the harbor prevented the passage of any of his vessels, but the boats were sent in on the evening of the 19th and the storehouses were found to contain about 800 barrels of provisions. These were at once removed. Most of the inhabitants had deserted the place without offering any opposition. As the last boat was leaving the shore a party of men in plain clothes advanced and fired upon it, wounding several men. It was fast growing dark, but a landing was again effected and their assailants were quickly dispersed and driven into the woods. In this skirmish three privates of the Royal Scots were killed and a sergeant and four privates wounded. The attack upon the boats was actually made by a body of New York militia, consisting of detachments from Colonel Swift's regiment and Granger's battalion of riflemen, belonging to General Burnet's brigade, which had been assembled for the defence of the coast immediately after the descent at the mouth of the Genesee on the 15th. The greater part of the stores deposited at Sodus had been already removed into the interior by their assistance and they had marched homewards that very day. When the British squadron appeared they were hastily summoned to return, with the consequences already described. One militia man was killed and three wounded. By Sir James Yeo the attack was attributed entirely to the unfortunate inhabitants, whom he determined to punish and intimidate by the destruction of their village. Accordingly a party was again landed next morning, (Sunday, 20th June,) for this purpose. Long experience in similar operations on the coasts of France and Spain had made officers and men thoroughly proficient in such matters. The warehouses and six of the largest dwellings were destroyed, among the latter the handsome residence of the agent of Sir William Pulteney, who owned a large tract of land in the vicinity. The village tavern alone was spared because it was found to contain a wounded man, who was supposed to be dying. The squadron then sailed directly to Forty Mile Creek, where the captured supplies were landed, much to the relief of General Vincent, who had hitherto been prevented by the want of provisions and camp equipage combined from moving any considerable part of his division much in advance of that place, which he considered a very defensible position. Most of his force was actually suffering extreme distress from the want of such necessary articles as shirts,

shoes and stockings. Captain Fulton informed the Governor General at this time that the 41st were "in rags and without shoes" and the 49th "literally naked." The arrival of the fleet relieved them at least from immediate danger of starvation, and they were strengthened at the same time by the arrival of two companies of the 104th and 340 Indians, comprising nearly all the warriors of the Seven Nations of Lower Canada. The latter force had been organized in May at Montreal by Sir John Johnson and consisted of 160 warriors from the Sault St. Louis, 120 from the Lake of Two Mountains and sixty from the St. Regis Village. They were officered by Captain Dominique Ducharme and Lieutenants J. B. DeLorimier, Gideon Gaucher, Louis Langlade, Evangeliste St. Germain, and Isaac LeClair, and embarked in canoes at Lachine on the 26th of that month. Lieut. St. Germain with the advance arrived at Kingston in time to take part in the expedition against Sackett's Harbor, and his promptitude in leading the attack on some American boats conveying troops to that place contributed largely to the success of the first day's operations on that occasion.

The cause of their subsequent detention is not stated, but they failed to join Vincent until the 20th of June, when they were at once sent forward to support Merritt and FitzGibbon. At the same time Colonel Bisshopp with a small brigade of light troops was thrown forward "to feel the pulse of the enemy." Bisshopp established his headquarters on the heights at the Twenty and detached Major P. V. DeHaren to occupy the bridge over the Twelve at St. Catharines with the two companies of the 104th and the light company of the 8th. The Indians were pushed on beyond the Ten, and a chain of outposts formed from the lake to Turney's cross roads, within a mile of the present town of Thorold. This position had a front of about seven miles, and every road by which a large body of troops could advance was occupied in considerable force.

During the day some of FitzGibbon's scouts had taken one of Chapin's men near Lundy's Lane, and learned that his whole troop had passed southward a few hours before. In the night Merritt, FitzGibbon and some other officers rode swiftly across the country to Point Abino to seize a spy. They succeeded in taking him and another of Chapin's troopers, and returned by daybreak. FitzGibbon then advanced along Lundy's Lane in hope of intercepting Chapin on this return, but learned that he had been joined by Captain Myer, with 150 infantry from Fort George. Riding on alone to reconnoitre he encountered two American soldiers, both of whom he succeeded in capturing with the assistance of some of the loyal inhabitants after a hard struggle, in which his agility and great

strength were taxed to the utmost. Another of the enemy was killed by one of his men.

On the 23rd Captain Ducharme with twenty-five of his Indians passed quite around the enemy's position until he reached the bank of the river, within sight of Fort George. While there they discovered a barge filled with American soldiers on its way down from Lewiston, which they captured, killing four men and taking seven prisoners. They were hotly pursued by a party of dragoons but escaped by taking to the woods, with the exception of a single Iroquois warrior who rashly lagged behind in the hope of capturing a horse from the enemy.

General Dearborn felt that his situation was daily becoming less endurable. Ever since he had arrived on this frontier he had been in feeble health and scarcely fit for command. On the 8th of June, while yet smarting from the disaster of Stoney Creek, he had written the Secretary of War: "My ill state of health renders it extremely painful to attend to current duties, and unless it improves soon I fear I shall be compelled to retire to some place where my mind may be more at ease."

On the 20th he described his position in these despondent terms: "From resignations, sickness and other causes, the number of regimental officers present and fit for duty is far below what the service requires. A considerable portion of the army being new recruits and the weather being unfavorable to health, the sick have become so numerous, in addition to the wounded, as to reduce the effective force far below what could have been contemplated. The enemy have been reinforced with about five hundred men of the 104th Regiment, whence I conclude he will endeavor to keep up such a plan at and near the head of the lake as will prevent any part of this army from joining or proceeding to Sackett's Harbor to attack Kingston, and such is the state of the roads in this flat country in consequence of continued rain as to render any operations against the enemy extremely difficult without the aid of a fleet for the transportation of provisions, ammunition and other necessary supplies. The enemy would probably retreat on our approach and keep out of our reach, being covered by one or more armed vessels. The whole of these embarrassments have resulted from a temporary loss of the command of the lake."

The audacity and success of the British scouting parties caused him so much annoyance that he consented to the wholesale deportation of the inhabitants, and applied to Erastus Granger, the Indian agent at Buffalo, for the assistance of 150 warriors of the Six Nations to be employed at the outposts.

Granger instantly sent a messenger to the chiefs of the villages

at Alleghany requiring their services, but the Indians were ominously slow in obeying the summons, and two weeks elapsed before they actually appeared at Buffalo.

On returning from his latest foray Major Chapin warmly advocated an immediate attack on FitzGibbon's advanced post at DeCew's house, which he represented that he had closely examined, although it subsequently appeared that he had not been within four or five miles of that place, and did not even know the road to it after he had offered to act as guide to the expedition. FitzGibbon's force was described with more accuracy to consist of a single company of regular infantry and from sixty to one hundred Indians. The presence of a British outpost at St. Catharines had also been ascertained, but nothing was known of the presence of the Indians led by Ducharme encamped between these posts.

It was determined to make a simultaneous movement against both FitzGibbon and DeHaren, and on the afternoon of the 23d June the column designed to attack the former, having nearly twice the distance to travel, marched to Queenston. It consisted of nearly six hundred men, with two guns, under Lieut. Colonel Boerstler, who was considered a very efficient officer. For some reason, which is not stated, the movement against St. Catharines was then abandoned and DeHaren was permitted to carry his force to FitzGibbon's assistance, but not before the latter had succeeded in compelling Boerstler to surrender with his entire command, including Chapin's detested troop of marauders. General Dearborn's official letter states that only one man escaped, but Captain Merritt relates in his journal that six were believed to have got off, among whom was the notorious Totman.

General Dearborn was quite stunned by this amazing disaster. He had described the check at Stoney Creek as "a strange fatality," and he now referred to this affair as "an unfortunate and unaccountable event." In the panic in his camp which followed, many officers of rank urged that the army should at once retire across the river, but a council of war finally decided to maintain their position. The boats, which had been held in readiness for a movement of some kind, were moored under the guns of Fort Niagara, and an entrenched camp large enough to cover the entire force was formed on the right of Fort George.

These repeated checks caused unbounded disappointment at Washington, where Congress was then sitting, and there was an immediate outcry for Dearborn's removal from a command in which he had been so unsuccessful. "Dearborn's blunders," John Lovett, a Federalist, wrote from the capital on the 22d June, "especially in suffering the little army at Fort George to escape and

preparing the way for the capture of Generals Chandler and Winder on the 6th of June, and leaving the way open for Procter's retreat and junction with the army at the head of the lake, create great heartburnings. It is probable Wilkinson will supersede Dearborn."

General Armstrong, the Secretary of War, frankly expressed his indignation. "Your letters of the 6th and 8th received," he wrote to the unhappy Dearborn on the 19th of June. "There is indeed some strange fatality attending our efforts. I cannot conceal from you the surprise occasioned by the two escapes of a beaten enemy, first on the 27th ult. and again on the 6th inst. Battles are not gained when an inferior and broken enemy is not destroyed. Should Procter have retired from Malden and effected a junction with Vincent, it has been done either to dispute possession of the peninsula or to effect their general retreat to Kingston. The latter, more probable." Harrison, he assured him, would effect a diversion in his favor with 3,500 regulars, by way of Detroit, while General Hampton would assemble a division of 4,000 more on Lake Champlain.

"If Yeo should defeat Chauncey," he added, "you should hold both Forts George and Erie. If otherwise, York is the best point to control the Canadian population and to prevent all intercourse between the enemy and the Indians."

The opponents of the administration exulted loudly over its failures. It was remarked that a year before General Chandler had proposed this toast at a public dinner: "The fourth of July, 1813—May we drink wine on that day within the walls of Quebec," and that he would now have an opportunity of gratifying his wish as a prisoner of war. They made up the "Canadian Account Current" in these terms:

Debtor.

One territory.
Seven generals.
Two armies.
Six millions per month.

Creditor.

One speaker's mace.
One well cured scalp.
One log house.
One dead Indian more or less.

When information of the disaster at Beaver Dams arrived Mr. Ingersoll, a leader of the war party in Congress, relates that it was regarded as "the climax to continued tidings of mismanagement and misfortune. On the 6th of July, therefore, after a short accidental communion of regret and impatience in the lobby with the speaker, (Henry Clay), and General Ringgold of Maryland, I was deputed a volunteer to wait on the President and request General Dearborn's removal from a command which so far had proved so unfortunate."

A despatch from the Secretary of War was accordingly written the same day to General Dearborn, directing him to retire "until his health should be re-established," and instructing General Boyd, upon whom the command of the division devolved, "not to prosecute any offensive operation until our ascendancy on the lake is re-established."

These orders did not reach Fort George until the 14th of July, but during the interval of twenty days which elapsed the American commander did not make the slightest attempt to resume the offensive.

The misfortunes of the invading army may be attributed partly, it is true, to the incompetence of the principal officers and the loss of the command of the lake, but still more to the astonishing lack of discipline and all soldierly attributes in the great mass of the men. Many had been enlisted during the winter in the seaboard towns and were almost immediately marched or transported rapidly about four hundred miles, in the months of March and April amid fierce storms of snow and rain, to the Canadian frontier. The last half of the journey was performed through a scantily inhabited country, where they had little opportunity to rest or cook their food. The hurried movement of two brigades from Lake Champlain to Sackett's Harbor was made in the face of a furious snow-storm, by which many soldiers were severely frost-bitten. During the voyage to York, they were crowded into vessels on which they had scarcely room to lie down, and were unavoidably exposed to the weather. After re-embarking, the fleet had been wind-bound in the harbor for four days, during which the men were constantly drenched with rain. Other detachments proceeding in open boats from Sackett's Harbor to Niagara suffered nearly as much discomfort. It is not surprising to learn that numbers on landing went directly into the hospital. The physique of the private soldiers was generally inferior. There was a total want of enthusiasm and *esprit de corps* among them.

General Dearborn seems to have been fully aware of these defects and made resolute efforts to remedy them. Fort George was strengthened by a deep ditch and line of palisades. The camp was surrounded by a ditch and earthworks, upon which about twenty pieces of cannon were mounted. When not employed on the fortifications the troops were diligently exercised. It was observed that for several days after Colonel Boerstler's defeat they did not venture to send even so much as a foraging or scouting party more than a mile beyond their lines.

The Canadian Indians at once retired to the Forty Mile Creek to celebrate their success by the usual festivities. They expected

that the arms and stores taken at Beaver Dams would be divided among them and that they would receive head-money for the prisoners. They were therefore much discontented when they found that these expectations were not likely to be gratified, and threatened to return home. They complained that they had no shoes and could not go into the woods without them. A council was held to pacify them, and after receiving an assurance that their services would be suitably rewarded, and that the wounded and the families of any that might be killed would be taken care of, they consented to advance again.

Without waiting for their decision, Vincent moved forward his headquarters to St. Catharines and pushed on his outposts to the Four Mile Creek, with the intention of confining the enemy within their works as closely as possible.

Soon after his arrival at Kingston the Governor-General became convinced that Sir Roger Sheaffe had "absolutely lost the confidence of the inhabitants," and resolved to relieve him at once of the civil and military administration of the affairs of the Province. Major-General Francis De Rottenburg, then commanding the Montreal District, was selected to replace him. On the 29th of June General De Rottenburg arrived at Vincent's headquarters and assumed command. He was a Swiss by birth and had received his early military training in the Dutch army. In 1795 he entered the British service as major in Hompesch's Hussars. He served in the suppression of the rebellion in Ireland in 1798, and in the expeditions against Surinam and Walcheren and at the siege of Flushing. Sixty-four years of age, phlegmatic and unenterprising, his past career had not been distinguished and he was decidedly inferior to Vincent in vigor and capacity.

Almost his first official act was to direct the trial by court-marshal of two deserters taken in arms at Stoney Creek, who were found guilty and sentenced to death. Skirmishes at the outposts became a matter of daily and almost hourly occurrence. A letter from the American camp, dated on the last day of June, gives this gloomy picture of their situation :

"Our army, numbering about 2,000, is intrenched on the right of the fort. Fort Niagara is garrisoned by about 400 men. Our pickets and foraging parties are constantly harassed by loyal militia and Indians. Every night there is a skirmish. They keep our troops under arms, which exhausts and wears them away very fast. Our force has diminished very much. The enemy's fleet plagues our troops very much. It has been making demonstrations off Niagara for near two weeks. The weather is very wet. It rains at least one-half the time."

On the first of July the British outposts were extended to St. Davids, entirely cutting off all intercourse between the enemy's camp and the surrounding country and restricting their foragers to the narrow space between the lines. The road along the western bank of the Four Mile Creek afforded a very good and easy means of communicating between these outposts, a decided advantage over the American piquets, which were separated from each other by enclosures and woods. Of the latter there were six, usually numbered from the right, covering the front of their position from lake to river about a mile in advance of their intrenchments and nearly half a mile apart.

Yeo's squadron continued to blockade the mouth of the river for a week after its return, occasionally cruising eastward along the American shore of the lake to intercept any small craft that might attempt to steal along the coast from the Genesee. During this time four small vessels and several Durham boats loaded with provisions for the American army were taken on their way to Fort Niagara. A captured sailor, one William Howells, was induced to act as a pilot, and the boats of the squadron under his guidance searched every bay and creek where a boat could lie hidden as far as the mouth of the Genesee, and much alarm was excited in the American commissariat lest they should ascend the river and destroy a magazine and the bridge on the main highway for supplies from the east, known as the Ridge Road, by which all communication with their base of supplies would be effectively interrupted for some time. On the 29th, however, Yeo was forced to return to Kingston for provisions.

But, on the other hand, a small schooner, the *Lady Murray*, bringing from Kingston a much needed supply of ammunition and a "choice collection of every kind of stores," was taken by the American despatch boat, the *Lady of the Lake*. At the time, this was felt to be an almost irreparable loss, and strict orders were given to limit the wasteful expenditure of powder by the Indians. They were informed that "pigeon shooting and such idle sport must be given up." Colonel Claus, their superintendent, complained bitterly that the Indians of the Grand River did not set a good example to those that had come from a distance. Only about half of them had joined the army. The others roamed lawlessly about the country committing outrages. "They plunder the settlers and return home to deposit what they take from the inhabitants. They destroy every hog and sheep they can meet with."

The effectiveness of the blockade of his position on three sides was such that General Dearborn was then forced to draw his supplies from Buffalo, by the road leading along the American side of

the river from Schlosser at the upper end of the portage around the falls, where they were landed from boats plying above. Ensign Winder of FitzGibbon's company took possession of Chippawa with a small detachment, and soon ascertained that the American block-house nearly opposite was weakly guarded and might be easily surprised. On the afternoon of the 4th July, FitzGibbon invited Lieut.-Colonel Thomas Clark of the 2d Lincoln Militia to co-operate with Winder in an attempt upon it that night, when it was anticipated that the guard would be more than usually negligent from the effects of the festivities of the day. Clark assembled thirty-four officers and men of his regiment, and being joined by Winder with Volunteer Thompson and six privates of the 49th, embarked in three boats. They landed at daybreak, and took the block-house with its entire guard, consisting of two officers, nine privates, three civilians, and three Canadian refugees, without the least resistance. A small gunboat, two bateaux, a brass six-pounder, fifty-seven stand of arms and a considerable quantity of ammunition and provisions were brought away. Sixteen tons of cannon-shot were thrown into the river, and six scows and the same number of large boats were partially destroyed. The removal and destruction of these stores occupied about an hour, during which they were not molested, but after entering their boats to re-cross the river a party of a dozen men, supposed to be workmen from Porter's Mills at the Falls, appeared on the bank and commenced an ineffective fire upon them.

This successful descent excited quite a disproportionate alarm all along the American side of the river and caused the inhabitants of Black Rock and Buffalo to clamor for military protection. At the former place General Peter B. Porter had already assembled a volunteer force with the intention of crossing the river and forming an intrenched camp nearly opposite, where a site had been selected. He had even proposed to march down the Canadian side and attack the British post at St. Davids. These projects were now abandoned, and he began preparations for the defence of his own position. A party which he had sent over on the morning of the 5th to remove the family of a refugee, hastily retired on the approach of a detachment of Canadian militia which took post near the ferry landing, and a brisk cannonade was opened across the river by the American batteries.

On the same day, 150 Western Indians, conducted by Captain Matthew Elliott and Blackbird, the Ottawa chief who had commanded at the slaughter of the Chicago garrison the year before, arrived at De Rottenburg's headquarters. These were chiefly Ottawas and Chippewas from the wilds north of Lake Huron, and Procter wrote that there were "some very fine fellows" among them.

whom he might miss. De Rottenburg, probably with equal truth, described them as "a most ferocious and savage set." They were at once sent forward to join the remainder in their encampment near the Four Mile Creek, where they were joyfully welcomed.

Some days previous to their arrival several of the American Tuscaroras had appeared on the opposite bank of the river near Lewiston and signified their wish to speak with the principal chiefs of the Six Nations living in Canada. Accordingly, that same afternoon, the chiefs of the sixteen nations then represented in the Indian camp, accompanied by Interpreters Brant and Fairchild, went to the appointed place on the river, when a party of ten Tuscaroras approached on the other side and they shouted to each other across the roaring torrent. The Tuscaroras began the conversation by affirming their friendship and inquiring whether the others were still friends to them. Katvirota, speaker of the Onondagas, eldest of the Six Nations, replied haughtily that although it had been said that the British were weak, yet "the Great Spirit is with us and we are enabled to take possession again. As the King has been obliged to give ground at Niagara, we want to understand from you whether you are induced to take part with the Americans or not." The Tuscaroras rejoined, "These times have been very hard, under difficulties, being so near the lines, and we wish to know whether your sentiments are still friendly toward us, and if you cross the river whether you will hurt us." Katvirota retorted in the same arrogant tone as before: "This will depend on yourselves. If you take no part with the Americans we shall meet you with the same friendship we ever did, and we look for the day when you will see our faces on your side of the water. We have no contention with you; it is King and the Americans, and we have taken part with the King. We will contend for his right." The Tuscarora stated in reply that they had determined to "sit quiet and take no part," but that a great council would be held at Buffalo in five days, and the conference then ended.

After the evacuation of Fort George a quantity of medicines and hospital stores had been buried near the house of a faithful old loyalist at the Two Mile Creek, Castell Chorus, once a soldier in a German regiment in Burgoyne's army, and after his escape from captivity, in Butler's Rangers. This house stood close to one of the American outposts, but the necessities of the division had made it highly important to recover the stores even at the risk of provoking an engagement. Accordingly, the light company of the King's Regiment under Lieut. Collis was detailed for the purpose, with Captain Merritt as guide, and late on the evening of the 7th Colonel Claus was instructed to assemble a body of Indians to act as a covering

party for the waggon. The Indians were directed to occupy a position in front of Chorus's house by two o'clock in the morning, but failed to leave their camp until broad daylight, when about a hundred went forward under Norton and Blackbird and the Interpreters Brisbois, Langlade and Lyons. The stores were recovered without molestation, and the soldiers retired with the waggon, while the two officers remained to breakfast at Peter Ball's house. The Indians loitered behind and began a brisk skirmish with the enemy's picket, which they finally drove from its post. They continued in this way to annoy the American outposts until the middle of the afternoon, when several hundred infantry came out from their intrenchments and they instantly retired with the hope of drawing the whole party forward into the wood and ravines near the Cross Roads, where the remainder of their warriors lay concealed. These well-worn tactics were partially successful. Lieut. Eldridge, Adjutant of the 13th United States Infantry, who had already distinguished himself on the retreat from Stoney Creek, being far in advance, rushed blindly in pursuit at the head of about forty men. A single volley from the ambush struck down eighteen of his followers. The remainder instantly turned and ran back, while the Indians rushed forward from their coverts to cut off their retreat. Eldridge wounded one of his pursuers with a pistol shot and was promptly shot down and tomahawked by another. Twelve were taken prisoners, and of the whole party only five escaped. Besides the three officers of the Indian department and Captain Merritt and John Ball, both of whom were unarmed, the only white person present on this occasion was John Lawe, a boy of thirteen years, who lived close by. His father, Captain George Lawe of the 1st Lincoln Militia, had been badly wounded and an elder brother killed in the battle of Fort George. After being allowed to return home on parole, his father had been arrested and carried off as a prisoner. Animated by a fierce passion for revenge, this boy seized a musket when the firing began and joined the Indians. He continued to load and fire in the most fearless manner until the skirmish had nearly ended, when his mother appeared and forcibly removed him. Of the prisoners, three were surrendered to Colonel Claus that night, the remainder were maliciously retained by the Indians until next morning for the purpose of thoroughly frightening them. Although these barbarous practices had been strictly prohibited by the officers in charge of them, the wild Western Indians not only scalped but savagely mutilated the bodies of the dead before leaving the field. When tasked with this misconduct, Blackbird alleged that the Americans had mangled the dead Indians at the Miami Rapids a few months before. "They were not satisfied with having

killed them," he said, "but cut them into small pieces. This made us very angry. My words to my people were as long as the powder burnt to kill and scalp. * * * * If the Big Knives after they kill people of our color leave them without hacking them to pieces, we will follow their example. They have themselves to blame. The way they treat our killed and the remains of those that are in their graves to the west makes our people mad when they meet the Big Knives. Whenever they can get any of our people into their hands they cut them like meat into small pieces." Only the Interpreter Langlade and two of the Indians were wounded in this affair, in which Claus estimated, probably with considerable exaggeration, that the Americans had lost upwards of one hundred men.

While this skirmish was in progress at Butler's farm, the Seven Nations of Lower Canada were holding a council at the Ten Mile Creek, at which they told Claus that they intended to return home. "Our patience is at an end," they said. "The King has enemies below as well as here. This is the day our people begin to cut grass for their cattle and we must prepare not to let our people and cattle starve. * * * We took a good many things the other day (at Beaver Dams.) What are we to get?"

Claus assured them that their families would receive assistance in harvesting, and that they would be paid for the "things" they had taken, and after some deliberation they seemed perfectly satisfied and agreed to remain for some time longer.

The discovery of the mangled bodies at the scene of Eldridge's disaster thrilled the American camp with horror and indignation, and occasioned a renewed demand for the employment of Indians on their own behalf. The inhabitants of the vicinity were accused not without reason of hostility and ordered to leave their homes under penalty of the severest punishment.

One of De Rottenburg's first measures was to secure Burlington against a sudden attack by throwing up intrenchments and mounting cannon, as he regarded that position as a stronghold to which he might eventually be forced to retire in the hope of maintaining it until Yeo would be able to co-operate in an attack on the forts at the mouth of the Niagara. The latter had just been thwarted in the execution of a bold and well-planned attempt to destroy the American fleet at its anchorage in Sackett's Harbor, which, if successful, would have given him absolute control of the lake. Embarking 400 picked seamen and 250 soldiers in row boats the very next day after his return to Kingston, he crossed the lake and landed his men on the uninhabited shore of Point Peninsula in full view and only about ten miles from the harbor, where boats and men remained concealed in the dense woods for twenty-four hours,

intending to make the attack on the following night. But two men of the Newfoundland Regiment deserted from the garrison at Kingston immediately after Yeo's departure, and, dogging his boats until they landed, made their way to the American lines with this important intelligence. The hurry and bustle with which the ships were manned and put in a posture of defence next day convinced Yeo, who was intently observing them with a glass from his hiding place, that the alarm had been given, and he returned empty-handed to Kingston on the morning of the 2d July. The fine new ship *General Pike*, for which Chauncey had been waiting in port for the last month, was seen to be nearly ready for sea. She was known to carry 28 heavy guns, with a crew of 400 men, and believed to be almost a match for the entire British squadron. Yeo was obliged to content himself with watching the harbor's mouth and cutting off supplies. A few days later his gunboats destroyed the barracks at Gravelly Point and brought off a boat with 100 barrels of provisions and a large quantity of oars.

On learning of Yeo's failure, De Rottenburg good-humoredly remarked, "*A mauvais jeu, il faut faire bonne mine*," and made vigorous efforts to repair the roads in his rear, which he described as the worst he ever saw, to facilitate a retreat when it became unavoidable. He complained that with the exception of Harvey, whom he characterized as "most active, zealous, and intelligent," the heads of the departments were "deficient in activity and cleverness," and that the militia staff in particular was "miserable."

On the 6th of July he detached 120 men of the 41st to assist Procter, who was bitterly complaining that the reinforcement had been so long withheld, and promised to send him one hundred more as soon as the remainder of 104th and the 1st battalion of the Royal Scots arrived.

In the hope of making a slight diversion in Procter's favor and destroying the naval stores at Black Rock, he authorized Lieutenant-Colonel Bisshopp, on the 9th, to attempt the surprise of that place. A couple of nights before this, some of Bisshopp's scouts had crossed the river near the head of Grand Island, captured some provision waggons and ascertained that Black Rock was then only garrisoned by militia. On the 10th, however, Colonel Brady arrived from Erie with 300 regulars, and by direction of General Dearborn, left half of them to assist Porter in its defence. Five hundred militia had been called out ten days before, but not more than half that number had mustered. In addition to these, the inhabitants had been embodied and armed for service. About one hundred Indians had assembled in response to Granger's appeal. But this force, though respectable in point of numbers, was too

widely scattered to be very formidable even for defence. One hundred of the regulars and a party of militia were stationed at Buffalo. Another detachment of 150 militia occupied a battery called Fort Gibson, half a mile above the village of Black Rock, which was armed with three guns. The remainder were distributed in the village, the main body being quartered in a log blockhouse surrounded by earthworks, also mounting three guns, with strong outposts in the Marine Barracks at the navy yard, and a redoubt commanding the bridge over Shogeoquady Creek, on the road to Tonawanda, each being defended by an additional gun.

The force selected for the attack by Bisshopp was small but efficient, consisting of twenty men of the Royal Artillery under Lieutenant (afterwards Major-General) R. S. Armstrong, forty of the 8th, Lieutenant Barstow; 100 of the 41st, Captain Saunders; forty of the 49th, Lieut. FitzGibbon, and forty of the 2d and 3d Lincoln Militia, Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Clark. Bisshopp determined to command in person, and it was intended that the detachment of the 41st should proceed to join General Procter immediately after.

The expedition left Chippawa about two o'clock in the morning of the 11th and landed three miles below Black Rock half an hour before daylight. The militia guard in the redoubt at the bridge-head abandoned their post in such haste and confusion that they did not even give the alarm to the party in the Marine Barracks near by, most of whom were surprised and taken by FitzGibbon, who led the advance with the 49th. Bisshopp pressed swiftly forward, took possession of Fort Tompkins almost without resistance, and advanced within two hundred yards of Fort Gibson before his approach was discovered. General Porter had been on the alert nearly all night in expectation of an attack, but had gone to bed in his own house and fallen asleep shortly before daybreak. When he awoke the British were in full possession of the batteries, and he barely effected his escape through the window, passing between their advance and main body, and made his way to Buffalo by a circuitous route, on foot and alone. The militia in Fort Gibson abandoned their artillery and stores and retreated in the same direction, following the beach. On the way they met the regulars moving to their support, and the whole body then retired together. Bisshopp remained in undisturbed possession of Black Rock for two hours, which he occupied in burning the block-houses, barracks and navy yard, with a large schooner moored there, in dismantling the batteries and destroying the stores that he had no means of removing, and in loading the remainder on a captured scow and seven large bateaux. So far his success had been cheap and complete.

Perceiving that there was no pursuit, General Porter rallied his scattered forces, and being joined by the regulars, Buffalo militia, and Indians, with a field-gun, advanced by a round-about course through the fields and roads until he gained the skirts of the village. Then, as the British were embarking in some confusion, he briskly attacked their rear. Bisshopp re-landed without an instant's hesitation and drove the assailants into the woods. But in retiring to the boats again, Captain Saunders of the 41st fell mortally wounded and several men of the same regiment were disabled and left behind. Then one of the boats grounded on the bar as it was leaving the harbor in such a position that it was exposed for several minutes to the fire of nearly three hundred men. Two others gallantly returned to the rescue, assisted the crew of the stranded boat to get afloat and towed it off. But this was not accomplished without severe loss. In all thirteen were killed, twenty-seven wounded and six reported missing. Bisshopp and Clark, who were conspicuous alike by their uniform and exertions, were both hit. Clark's injury was slight, but Bisshopp was badly wounded in both arms and the thigh. Although not at first supposed to be dangerous, these wounds proved mortal, and that distinguished officer died on the fifth day after.* Of the detachment of the 41st, Capt. Saunders and six men were killed, Ensign Mompesson, a sergeant and ten men were wounded, and four privates missing. Having thus lost nearly a fourth of its numbers, it was prevented from continuing its march to Detroit. Exclusive of fifteen or twenty prisoners taken in the batteries, who were chiefly sailors and regular artillery men detailed to serve the guns, General Porter reported vaguely that he had lost two or three men killed and eight or ten wounded—two of the latter being Indians.

The aims of the expedition had been fully accomplished before the retreat was begun, and had Bisshopp adhered strictly to the letter of his instructions he might have come off without the loss of a man. Four field guns and great quantities of provisions and naval and military stores were brought away in a captured scow and seven large boats, which were loaded to the water's edge. Four heavier guns with their carriages were destroyed, and the remainder of the stores thrown into the river. The acquisition of these supplies was a distinct relief to De Rottenburg, and their loss on

* Lieut.-Colonel Bisshopp was barely thirty at the time of his death. He lies buried in the graveyard on Lundy Lane's battlefield. In Parham village church in Sussex, near the stately Elizabethan mansion where he was born, there is a memorial tablet with these lines:

"His pillow—knot of sturdy oak !
 His shroud—a soldier's simple cloak !
 His dirge—will sound till Time's no more—
 Niagara's loud and solemn roar.
 There Cecil lies—say where the grave
 More worthy of a Briton brave !"

the other hand greatly delayed the equipment of the American squadron on Lake Erie.

These events also strongly tended to aggravate the depression of the American cabinet, which had so confidently undertaken to direct the campaign from Washington.

John Lovett, a Federalist member of Congress, wrote to a friend on the 17th of July, immediately after the news had been received there:

"The British back of Fort George have lately driven in the picket guard, killed some and took forty or fifty attempting to reinforce the guard. They have also crossed to Black Rock and destroyed stores there. The Postmaster-General this morning, relating these things, exclaimed, 'It does seem as if the very Devil is in our luck.'"

The effect upon the blockaded army was of course not less discouraging. "The enemy," De Rottenburg wrote, "is in much fear of being attacked and harass their men by continual nightly duties."

Although General Dearborn absolutely refrained from any forward movement and had declined to sanction the attempt proposed by General Porter upon St. Davids on the ground that the British force above that place would render the enterprise "more hazardous than present circumstances will permit," his patrols and pickets were constantly attacked almost in sight of his lines. On the 11th, a party of Algonquin and Nipissing Indians, led by the interpreter Langlade, waylaid eight American dragoons near Ball's house—killed two and captured the quartermaster's sergeant, a Frenchman. Late in the afternoon of the same day, ten of the St. Joseph's band had a prolonged skirmish with a much superior number of infantry, in which they lost one warrior mortally wounded.

Three days later General Dearborn retired from command of the American army and was succeeded by Brigadier-General John P. Boyd, as Major-General Lewis had been recently removed to Sackett's Harbor, where a division of troops was being assembled for the protection of the fleet. Boyd had entered the United States army as a subaltern at an early age, but soon resigned his commission and went to India where he remained for many years and rose to high rank in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad. When the attack upon the Chesapeake seemed likely to cause a war, General Armstrong, the present Secretary of War, then American Minister in France, found him in Paris and had him appointed a colonel of infantry in the re-organized army. He had commanded the regulars in the battle of Tippecanoe and was nominated as a brigadier-general in recognition of his services on that occasion.

He was now "forbidden to engage in any affair with the enemy

that could be avoided," and subjected to the orders of Major-Generals Hampton and Lewis, one of whom was at Burlington, Vt., and the other at Sackett's Harbor. One of the Secretary's latest letters to his predecessor, written, too, before the recent disasters were known, had strictly enjoined caution. "The leisure you now have," he said, "affords a fine opportunity for the adjutants and inspectors-general to attend to their particular duties. Some of the parties of which you speak from the enemy may practice a trick on those who follow them. *These last ought to be very circumspect.*" The fate of Boerstler and Eldridge had since given emphasis to the warning. Boyd was only regarded as a stop-gap until a leader of more reputation could be secured. Armstrong had already offered the post to Major-General James Wilkinson, with whom he had served on the staff of General Gates in the revolution. "Why should you remain in your land of *cypress*," he wrote, "when patriotism and ambition invite you to one where grows the *laurel*? If our cards be well played we may renew the scenes of Saratoga." The latter, however, displayed an apparent if not a real reluctance to accept. Lovett wrote that "Wilkinson is making up his mind to take command of the northern army, considers the responsibility infinite, that he must conquer or die; lose all his fame or acquire more; that he will not undertake it unless he can be assured of the means to be put into his hands." Accordingly, more than a month elapsed before his objections could be overcome and he actually set out for the seat of war.

Even if he had not been restrained by his instructions, there was now little inclination in Boyd's command to attempt any offensive movement. Officers and men alike were profoundly depressed if not absolutely panic-stricken by an unbroken series of petty checks and reverses. Letters written from the camp complain bitterly of the constant annoyance to which they were exposed, but confess their inability to resent it. One of these written as early as the 29th of June says: "I am informed our army daily expects the arrival of 400 or 500 Tuscaroras and Senecas. The general intends, I understand, to accept of them, which I think would be important against the enemy now, for they are continually harassing our piquet and guards and detachments sent out into the country by parties composed of loyal militia and Indians and a few British regulars. Every night our troops have a skirmish with the marauders. They are very troublesome. They keep our troops under arms which exhausts them very much. . . . Our men are in a wretched condition for clothing, many barefooted and half-naked. The supplies of the army from the quartermaster-general's department are irregular. . . . The weather is very wet. It rains at least

one-half the time. The atmosphere is very changeable from very warm to very cool days and nights. This produces sickness in the troops." Another, on the 11th July, after relating the destruction of Eldridge's command, states that "the enemy has advanced within a few miles of us. The Indians are continually attacking our picket guard. They are far too strong for us to attack them in the woods." A third, dated the 16th, relates that "the enemy are reinforcing every day. We are encircled, they are in our front, the lake in our rear and flanks, and we do not hold any more ground than that on which we stand." Still another, on the 17th, observes, "I think our situation very critical. The enemy are nearly in sight of our pickets. Their force is gaining every day : ours diminishing. We are attacked and harassed every night. . . . I have not had my clothes off for two months." On the same day, General Porter informed the Governor of New York that "the army are panic-stricken and the affairs of this frontier most critical."

In fact, the arrival of several companies of the Royal Scots, 104th, had enabled General De Rottenburg to move his headquarters to St. Davids and advance his outposts still closer to the American camp. This, he said, "reduces the enemy to the ground he stands upon, and prevents his getting any supplies from our territory. Independently of these advantages, the more forward movement became necessary on account of the Indian warriors. They must be actively employed, and are now daily engaged with the enemy's outposts, harassing and teasing them the whole day long. . . . It is surprising that with such a superiority of numbers he does not attempt to drive me from my position, but keeps perfectly quiet and passive within his lines."

The left of the new position rested on Servos's Mills, near the mouth of the Four Mile Creek, where there was a secure shelter for their supply boats, with piquets nearly a mile in advance on the Lake Road. The centre occupied the Swamp Road at the crossing of the creek, with piquets at Ball's farm. The bridges over the creek on both these roads were protected by field-works. The artillery was posted on the left and supported by the 104th. The battalion of the King's, or 8th regiment, and a detachment of the 100th, with the entire body of Indians, formed the centre, while the Royal Scots and Glengarry Light Infantry held the ground in front of St. Davids and Queenston, with their piquets thrown well forward. A strong post of observation was established on Queenston Heights. The outposts of the enemy were stationed at or near the houses of Crooks, Secord, John Butler, Thomas Butler, McLellan, and Fields, beyond the Two Mile Creek. Boyd's division was known to consist of a battalion of light artillery, detachments of the 2d and 3d

United States artillery, the 2d dragoons, the 5th, 6th, 8th, 12th, 13th, 16th, 21st, 22d, 23d and 29th United States Infantry, and a battalion of volunteer riflemen, estimated at upwards of 5000 effective men.

A brisk encounter occurred while this movement was being made, of which there is this vivid narrative in the Ridout correspondence:

"On Saturday, 17th," says Mr. T. G. Ridout, "Henry Nelles and I rode down to the Cross Roads, three miles from Niagara, where the Royals, King's and 600 or 700 Indians are posted. I understood the Americans were advancing into Ball's fields. Immediately the yell was given and Blackbird and Norton set out with their followers to meet them. Nelles and I rode along, and in a few minutes the skirmish begun by the Western Indians getting upon the left flank and the Five Nations upon the other. The enemy consisted of 500 men. They soon retired, firing heavy volleys upon Blackbird's party, which was the nearest. The road is so straight I could see into town, and Nelles and I rode on with the Indians to within one and-a-quarter miles of Niagara, when we perceived a large reinforcement from them, with a piece of artillery, and they advanced with a large front, firing grape shot. The Indians scattered in the woods, but we were obliged to keep the road. By this time three companies of the Royals and a brass six-pounder came up and were posted on this side of Ball's field—the Yankees on the other side. We fired for some time, when the Americans thought fit to retreat. At one time, from the farther end of Ball's field a mile and a half this way the road was covered with Indians, officers, soldiers, and horses, and from the Presbyterian church they must have judged our force at 3000 men. We had about 1000. A good many Yankees were killed. One Indian took two scalps. A young Cayuga had his arm and side carried away with a cannon ball, and another had a ball through his arm."*

The force engaged on the part of the Americans consisted of a battalion of volunteers (the Irish Greens), a company of mounted infantry, four companies of riflemen, and four troops of dragoons, or about 1100 men, under Colonel Winfield Scott, and they admitted the loss of four killed and nine wounded, among the latter Major Armstrong, son of the Secretary of War, and Captain Towson.

The movement of troops and seamen from Fort Niagara towards Buffalo, although only designed for the defence of that place and manning the Lake Erie squadron, forced De Rottenburg to detach a strong party to Chippawa to protect the rear of his position, and

* Mrs. Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada*, p. 204.

this in turn renewed the alarm on the opposite shore and occasioned the prolonged detention of the Indians assembled at Black Rock, much to the disappointment of General Boyd, who declared that their presence with his army would be "incalculably important," and that they were "certainly the most efficient troops for such a wood country as this."

Finally, in compliance with his insistent demands, General Porter and Mr. Granger invited these Indians, numbering between three or four hundred men, to proceed to Fort George, "not to invade the enemy's country, but to act as a piquet guard for his army." After the usual period of deliberation on this proposal, Porter reported that their spokesman, the celebrated Red Jacket, stated that they "had unanimously agreed to reject it for reasons assigned by them at large (and intermixed with no small share of sarcasm) which could not be but satisfactory, and which would do no credit to the army of the centre to repeat." He declared that they were ready to remain there with the volunteer militia and "to penetrate the enemy's country with them."

Porter then seized this opportunity of reviving his proposition to lead a force from Black Rock against the rear of the blockading army, to consist of about 1200 men, regulars, militia and Indians in equal numbers, with three or four field guns, to land at Chippawa at daybreak, "dispose of the British forces stationed there, and proceed immediately to St. Davids to join and co-operate with such part of your army as you might think prudent to send out." With such a body he confidently assured the Secretary of War, "I pledge myself to enter Canada and relieve his army from their distress."

"The truth is (and it is known to every man of common sense in this part of the country)," he continued, "that we have had an army at Fort George for two months past, which at any moment of this period might by a vigorous and well-directed expedition of three or four days have prostrated the whole of the enemy's force in this division of the country, and yet this army lies panic-stricken, shut up, and whipped in by a few hundred miserable savages, leaving the whole of this frontier, except the mile in extent which they occupy, exposed to the inroads and depredations of the enemy."

Major Chapin, who had escaped from captivity with most of his troop by overpowering a militia guard when on his way to Kingston, crossed the river with sixty volunteers to reconnoitre on the 21st July, and advanced as far as Frenchman's Creek without opposition.

Boyd's instructions, however, left him no discretion until the arrival of Chauncey's fleet should set him free to act.

Both parties felt that ultimate success was dependent on the

mastery of the lake. In the absence of Yeo's squadron, now prolonged far beyond expectation, De Rottenburg's embarrassments hourly increased. Supplies dwindled away. Desertions, hitherto almost unknown, became alarmingly frequent as his outposts approached the enemy's works. Not less than fifteen men deserted within a few days from the 104th, ten alone from the two flank companies. Five grenadiers were taken in the attempt. In consequence of these disgraceful defections, the Royal Scots were ordered to relieve a regiment which until then had been distinguished for gallantry and good conduct. On the 9th July, James Grady, late a private in the King's regiment but taken in arms at Stoney Creek, was shot, and ten days later two men of the 104th and one of the Royal Scots suffered the same fate for "example's sake." The Indians were then thrown forward into the woods beyond the outposts with instructions to shoot at sight any men attempting to pass over to the enemy, and desertions ceased at once. But these unstable auxiliaries soon again began to show signs of discontent. Blackbird was annoyed because Colonel Young had insisted that he should surrender the prisoners he had taken on the 8th of July, although a ransom was subsequently paid him. At any time it was scarcely possible to prevail upon them to act at night, the best time for beating up the enemy's outposts, as it was contrary to their usual custom. The prolonged absence of the squadron dismayed and alarmed them, and already the Western Indians began to talk of returning homewards and to wrangle over the distribution of the annual allowance of presents, which had not yet arrived. Colonel Claus held a council with them at the Cross Roads on the 21st July in the hope of appeasing their dissatisfaction, at which he assured them that the squadron was expected to sail from Kingston the day before, and that an attack upon the enemy's position would be made as soon as it arrived. These Indians then agreed to remain a few days longer. Four days later the Seven Nations of Lower Canada announced that they would only remain for ten days. At the latter meeting Claus remonstrated against the constant plundering of the wretched inhabitants.

"The General," he said, "wishes me to speak to you on behalf of the poor people about us, who have complained that they lose everything about their places, and he requests that you will exert yourselves to prevent these acts of cruelty. It is very hard upon these poor people, for on the one hand they are injured by the enemy, and on the other by us."

To this, a chief known as "The Echo" replied, "we are wrong, and confess our faults. It seemed as if these men wished to side

with the strongest. We have taken many things, but any that are pointed out we will give up."

Norton and Claus had quarreled beyond hope of reconciliation, and as the Mohawk Chief bore the reputation of a brave and skillful leader and was, besides, a persuasive and forcible speaker, the influence of the latter gradually declined both with the General and the Indians.

About the end of July Norton was married by Mr. Addison to a girl belonging to the Delaware tribe, whom Claus spitefully described as the "daughter of a deserter from the Queen's Rangers and a common woman," and asserted that thenceforward, "he did nothing but ride about the country with madam and a posse of his connections."

In consequence of the persistent demands of the Indians for compensation for wounds and the death of relatives, a board of inquiry had been assembled at headquarters, which recommended that "with a view to soften and restrain the Indian warriors in their conduct to such Americans as may be made by them prisoners," they should receive :

"For every prisoner brought in alive, \$5, to be paid immediately by the commissary on the certificate of the general officer commanding the division.

"To a chief for the loss of an eye or limb, \$100 per annum, payable in money or goods.

"To a warrior for the loss of an eye or limb, or a wound held equivalent to the loss of an eye or limb, \$70 per annum, payable in money or goods.

"To the widow of a chief killed in action, a present of \$200.

"To the widow of a warrior killed in action, a present of \$170."

On the 20th July, the first squadron of the 19th Light Dragoons arrived and relieved Captain Merritt's troop, which from constant and arduous service had become almost unfit for duty. "I found the horses battered and worn out," said Captain Hall, the inspector of cavalry, "with scarcely a shoe to their feet, many lamed for want of shoeing, and some of the horses unfit for light dragoon service in point of size, &c., and with the exception of a few and half-equipped saddles and a few swords and pistols, the men and horses are totally destitute of appointments."

Captain Coleman's troop of provincial cavalry, lately enlisted in Montreal, arrived about the same time, but half of it was at once sent forward to the Detroit.

The numerical superiority of the blockaded army alone was sufficient to render any serious movement upon its defences extremely hazardous, and the American fleet now seemed to be in a

fair way to regain control of the lake, by which the very existence of De Rottenburg's division would be imperilled. As the Governor-General justly remarked, it was "not expedient to carry on decisive operations against Fort Niagara while the enemy are in a preponderating force on Lake Ontario, because, in my estimation, the first object to be attained is ascendancy on the lake.

But Commodore Chauncey was straining every resource at his command with the same object, and he possessed an inestimable advantage in being much nearer his base of supplies and having an abundance of workmen. Guns, shot, cordage, iron-work, in fact everything required for the equipment of the British squadron, had to be brought from England.

The ship *General Pike* was launched by Chauncey on the 12th of June, and rapidly pushed to completion. She measured 140 feet in length by 37 feet beam, 900 tons, and mounted thirty-four 24-pounders, fourteen on a side on a flush deck, four on the top-gallant forecastle, one on a traversing carriage on the forecastle, and another mounted in the same way on the poop, giving her an effective broadside of eighteen guns. Her crew was said to number 420. The *Madison* was re-armed with twenty-two 32-pounders and manned with 340 men. A fast-sailing brig to carry twenty guns, the *Sylph*, was laid down as soon as the *Pike* was launched. After the failure of Yeo's attempt to surprise the place, a division of 3000 men, principally regular troops, was hurriedly assembled for the defence of Sackett's Harbor, where they remained idle all summer. A large floating battery for the protection of the harbor was built at Oswego, but went to pieces in a storm while on its way thither. Two detachments of veteran seamen, numbering 130, arrived from Boston about the end of June, followed on the 8th of July by the entire crew of the frigate *John Adams*. While thus engaged, Chauncey made no appearance upon the lake except by detaching three of his swiftest schooners to Niagara with seamen for the Lake Erie squadron, about the middle of July, but on the 23d he put out with two ships, a brig, and eleven schooners, having a tonnage of 2721, carrying 114 guns, throwing a broadside of 1629 pounds of shot, and manned by 1193 men. Nearly a quarter of these guns were mounted on pivot or traversing carriages and could fire in any direction, and were consequently as effective as twice the number mounted in broadside.

Meanwhile Yeo had been unable to augment the force of his squadron in any way except by a slight increase in its armament, and had actually been obliged to weaken the crews by detailing men for the inestimably important duty of patrolling the St. Lawrence and keeping open the communication with Montreal.

With this object a squadron of nine small gunboats was equipped, each carrying two guns and from 27 to 40 men, organized in three divisions, one stationed at Kingston, one at Prescott and one at Gananoqui, to cruise among the Thousand Islands. Eight days elapsed after Chauncey's departure from Sackett's Harbor before the British commodore was able to sail in pursuit with six vessels of 1385 tons, mounting 92 guns throwing a broadside of 1374 pounds, and manned by 632 men exclusive of 200 soldiers of the Royal Newfoundland and 100th regiments as marines. The armament of his squadron was most formidable in close action, and Yeo declared his intention to seek this at all hazards. Prevost described the squadron as being "powerfully armed, well equipped, completely manned and ably commanded," and added, "it is scarcely possible a decisive action can be avoided, and I therefore humbly hope H. R. H. the Prince Regent will approve of its being courted by us as a necessary measure for the preservation of the advanced positions of this army, which I have determined to maintain until the naval ascendancy on Lake Ontario is decided, convinced that a retrograde movement would eventually endanger the safety of a large proportion of the troops in Upper Canada and convert the heart of the province into the seat of war."

Before sailing, General Boyd had informed Chauncey that from information received from Major Chapin and other escaped prisoners as well as deserters, he had ascertained that a valuable magazine of supplies and captured ordnance had been formed at Burlington, which was reported to be guarded only by about 150 men, and suggested that this post might be surprised by a small land force embarked from Niagara on his fleet. On the 26th July the *Lady of the Lake* arrived with a message from the latter that he entirely approved, and that he would proceed at once to Burlington with his whole fleet, but needed information and guides. Colonel Winfield Scott with a company of artillery, accompanied by Major Chapin and several refugees and deserters as guides, embarked on this vessel, which rejoined the fleet on the evening of the same day. On consultation, it was then decided to put into Niagara and take on board 250 infantry, which was accomplished early next morning. But the fleet after sailing some distance remained weather-bound within sight of both shores for the rest of that day and a great part of the next, so that it was late on the evening of the 29th before it anchored off Burlington. The embarkation of troops and the course of the fleet had been observed by De Rottenburg, and the delay of nearly forty-eight hours enabled Major Maule to reinforce the garrison by a forced march from St. Catharines with 200 men of the 104th. Two parties were landed that night, who took some

of the inhabitants by whom they were informed of Maule's arrival. In the morning Scott's whole command, with 250 soldiers and marines, landed under Chapin's guidance near Brant's house, and approached the British position with the apparent intention of making an attack. But as they found it protected by an intrenchment armed with several guns, and a small gunboat cruising in the bay, they abandoned this design and re-embarked before dark, carrying off a few of the inhabitants and some cattle. After midnight, Lieut.-Col. Battersby, who had marched from York the day before upon discovering their destination, arrived with the advance of his "moveable column," and at daybreak Chauncey set sail for that place, which was then left absolutely defenceless. Besides this, the militia had been paroled during the former American occupation, and many of the inhabitants of the vicinity were undeniably disloyal and may have been in communication with the enemy. A month before, Chief Justice Powell had warned the Governor-General that "in the event of any serious disaster to His Majesty's arms, little reliance is to be had on the power of the well disposed to repress and keep down the turbulence of the disaffected, who are very numerous."

Chauncey's schooners entered the bay and landed the troops, who paroled the sick and wounded men in the hospital and broke open the gaol, liberating all the prisoners except three soldiers confined for felony, whom they took away with them. Several hundred barrels of flour were removed from private storehouses to their vessels. While this took place, Commodore Chauncey informed Mr. Strachan and Dr. Powell, who met him as a deputation from the inhabitants, that his visit was intended as a retaliation for the descents of the British squadron on the American coast of the lake, but assured them that none of their houses would be burned. He even apologized for the destruction of the public library at the time of his previous invasion, and stated that he had caused a search to be made throughout his fleet, and that many of the books had been found and would be returned. On the morning of Sunday, August 1st, having been informed by some of the disaffected that military stores had been removed up the Don, they sent a number of boats to ascend that stream. This expedition proved unsuccessful, as the stores had been already taken away by a few of the inhabitants headed by the brothers Playter. At sunset the barracks, woodyard and storehouses on Gibraltar Point were burned, making a flame that was distinctly seen in the British lines about Niagara. On the whole, the invaders behaved well and scarcely molested private property. Elsewhere they do not appear to have exhibited equal moderation, as De Rottenburg wrote from St. Davids

(August 1), "we all day yesterday could perceive smoke from burning houses around the coast."

Battersby's column marched back to York in all haste, but arrived several hours after the enemy's fleet had left the bay. On the 3d Chauncey returned to Niagara and anchored off the mouth of the river, whence he despatched another party of 111 officers and seamen to Lake Erie.

With the exception of a feeble reconnaissance on the 21st July, in which two British dragoons were surprised and taken, Boyd had remained absolutely quiescent within his lines. By throwing the whole body of his Indians into the woods in front of his position De Rottenburg had put an end to all desertion, and the American general complained that it was nearly impossible to obtain any information as to his movements or intentions. On the last day of July, while Chauncey's fleet was entering Toronto Bay, all of the American piquets in front of Niagara were driven in by a general advance and their camp closely reconnoitred, when it was discovered to be strongly fortified, with many cannon mounted and apparently occupied by at least 3000 men under arms. As a matter of fact, Boyd had been recently reinforced by several small detachments, and according to an official return of the 2d of August his division on both sides of the river actually mustered 6635 officers and men of the regular army, exclusive of McClure's battalion of volunteers and Willcocks's command.* But, as the Secretary of War bitterly remarked, "our armies are very great when estimated for pay, but very small in the field." Brigadier-General D. R. Williams, not long since a congressman from South Carolina, and chairman of the Committee on Military Affairs, irreverently known among his colleagues as "Thunder and Lightning Williams," had also arrived as second in command.

On the 24th July, De Rottenburg had issued a district general order referring to the fact that "many farms in the District of Niagara are abandoned by their proprietors or tenants who have joined the enemy," and appointing commissioners "to husband the same and gather in the grain" for the use of the army.† The situation of his division was felt to be one of great peril and entirely dependent on the doubtful result of the struggle for the supremacy of the lake daily expected to begin.

* Light Artillery, 481	} Effectives present, 3335 rank and file.
Dragoons, . . . 241	
Artillery, . . . 277	
Infantry, . . . 5636	

† The Commissioners named were Richard Hatt, Samuel Hatt, Richard Beaseley, Robert Nelles, Abraham Nelles, Wm. Crooks, Samuel Street, Sr., Thomas Clark, Thomas Dickson, John Warren, Crowell Willson, and Thomas Cummings.

"The fate of this army," wrote Mr. Ridout on the 2d of August, "depends on the fleet. Its positions are so advanced that a retreat will be impossible without losing half the men. The enemy remain cooped up in Fort George, not daring to stir beyond the common. Everything goes on steadily and regularly. Ten thousand of the enemy will not be able to start John Bull out of the Black Swamp A large fire seen in the direction of York, supposed to be burnt by the Americans."*

The military chest was empty, and provisions were becoming scarce. The return of Chauncey's fleet with no news of the British squadron so long promised for their relief, had discouraged and intimidated the Indians so much that they could scarcely be kept together. Claus reported, "they are getting tired and impatient. They are dropping off daily, and I fear that in a few days we shall not have many. General De Rottenburg has directed me to purchase everything to be had within fifty miles, but that was not sufficient for fifty men. Tobacco in particular is an article we cannot get." They were given a great "war feast" by the general in person, who states that he had "spared no pains to keep them in good humor."

On the 5th of August his anxiety was much relieved by the arrival of Mr. Hagerman with a message from Yeo, stating that his squadron had been becalmed between the Bay of Quinte and Toronto, and bringing with him a code of signals to distinguish the British positions around Niagara.

On the day that Chauncey returned from his expedition Boyd received letters from the Secretary of War, relieving him from all previous restrictions as to his action. "So long as they had wings and you had only feet, so long as they could be transported, supplied, and reinforced by water and at will," he said, "common-sense as well as military principles put you on the *defensive*. These circumstances changed, the reason of the rule changes with them, and it now becomes your business in concert with the fleet to harass and destroy the enemy wherever you can find them." In a second letter he informed General Boyd that he had just learned that Fort Meigs on the Miami had been lately attacked by a "considerable regular force. This," he added, "must have been drawn from De Rottenburg's corps. His late insolence in pushing his small attacks to the very outline of our works has been intended to mask his weakness produced by this detachment. If, as you say, you can beat him, do it without delay, and if you beat, you must destroy him. There is no excuse for a general who permits a broken enemy to escape and to rally."

* Mrs. Edgar, Ten Years of Upper Canada, p. 206.

The next three days were accordingly spent by Boyd and Chauncey in forming plans and making elaborate preparations for a combined attack. It was intended that the movement should begin on the morning of Sunday, the 8th of August. General Williams was directed to embark on the fleet with one thousand men and land at some favorable point in De Rottenburg's rear to cut off his retreat from the peninsula, while the remainder of the division, advancing simultaneously in two columns by the Queenston and the Lake roads, should assail him in front. General Porter's assistance with the troops stationed at Black Rock and Buffalo was earnestly desired. "The principal force of the enemy being at St. David's," Boyd remarked, "it is thought not advisable for you to descend on this side, but you will please to join us by the other with as great a force of *Indians* as you *can* assemble."

Despite this warning, finding that the Indians collected at Black Rock for the last month, where they had been paid and fed at the public expense, were preparing to abandon him, Porter persuaded them to take part in an inroad into Canada on their own account, which he at first proposed to extend as far as Chippawa, in the hope of effecting a diversion in Boyd's favor. Crossing the river on the morning of the 7th before daylight with 200 regulars and militia and an equal number of Indians, he moved down the Canadian bank until about four miles below Fort Erie, collecting as they went a large herd of cattle and horses found grazing on the commons near the water, and making prisoners of about twenty unarmed inhabitants, among whom were Messrs. Wintemute and Overholt, described as "two noted characters of the revolution." Porter stated that the conduct of his troops in general was excellent, but that "a few unprincipled rascals from our shore with a few Indians strayed off unknown to the officers and plundered several private houses." The Indians were permitted to carry off all the captured cattle, but Porter recommended that the owners should be fully compensated.

At daybreak of the same day, when the arrangements for the proposed attack were nearly complete, Yeo's squadron was descried from Fort George at a distance of about six miles, apparently standing for the head of the lake. Chauncey soon got under way and formed his fourteen ships of war in line of battle. Yeo had but twenty long guns on all his vessels, throwing a broadside of 180 pounds, to oppose sixty-four, throwing 694 pounds at a broadside. But on the other hand he had seventy-two carronades, six of which were sixty-eight pounders, throwing 1194 pounds of shot at a broadside, against Chauncey's fifty, throwing a broadside of 935 pounds. In calm weather or on a light breeze Chauncey had

an enormous advantage, as his long guns could wreck the British vessels at a distance which would make their carronades entirely useless. Each of the commanders appears to have known the character of his adversary's armament within a gun or two, and formed his plans accordingly. It was Chauncey's object to engage at a safe distance, while Yeo hoped to force a close action, "though under the guns of their forts." In point of sailing, too, Chauncey's square-rigged vessels were much superior, and were frequently able to take the schooners in tow and bring them into action long before they would have been able to gain a position by their unassisted efforts. But the latter, although fairly good lake vessels, could not manœuvre handily in a gale, and being without bulwarks could scarcely have been fought at all within range of canister, as the men working the guns would have been wholly exposed.

After approaching within four miles, the wind showed signs of shifting into a quarter which might give the British squadron the weather gage, when Chauncey fired a broadside "which did not reach half-way" and returned to his anchorage. On Sunday it was nearly calm, and Yeo directed one of his schooners to approach the enemy's position in the hope of tempting him out into the lake in pursuit. Chauncey sent some of his schooners to sweep out in an effort to cut this vessel off. At two o'clock in the afternoon, a light breeze sprung up and Yeo's squadron stood in to engage, when the schooners again retired. The rest of the day was occupied in similar manœuvres in plain view of the American works, thronged with thousands of eager spectators, and of the British posts of observation along the heights and on the lake shore. During the night the breeze became a gale, and about one o'clock a sudden squall struck two of the largest American schooners—the *Hamilton* of ten and the *Scourge* of nine guns. They careened over, and as they were cleared for action at the time and their guns working on slides, it is supposed that they went to leeward with the shot piled on deck ready for use, and upset these ill-fated vessels within hail of the schooner *Asp*. Their united crews, numbering 118 persons, perished with the exception of sixteen or seventeen, who are said to have been picked up by some of the British vessels then close in pursuit. In the morning Chauncey had regained his anchorage and was seen to receive on board nine boat loads of soldiers, afterwards admitted to amount to 150 men. That day and the next were spent like the two preceding in ineffectual manœuvres. The weather was all that Chauncey could desire for an engagement at long range. Four times he had the wind and bore down to commence the battle, when it suddenly shifted and he declined to allow his adversary the advantage of the weather gage. In the afternoon of

the second day the American fleet stood towards the British line favored by a fine breeze, but was becalmed off the British post near the mouth of Twelve Mile Creek. At sunset a south-west breeze blew fresh from the land, giving Yeo the weather gage, and he bore down under press of sail, hoping to pass as rapidly as possible through the zone of fire from their long guns and bring his own carronades to bear before his own ships were disabled. Chauncey stood away and formed his vessels in two parallel lines about 600 yards apart, each line being composed of six vessels, a cable's length distance from each other, the light schooners being to windward and the larger ones with the three square-rigged vessels to leeward. As the British squadron came down in a single line on their larboard quarter the schooners in the weather line were instructed to begin firing as soon as their long 32 and 24 pounders would reach, and gradually bear away and pass through the intervals of the line, still keeping out of range of the British carronades. About eleven Yeo's flagship, the *Wolfe*, leading his squadron and a long distance ahead of all the other vessels, came within range of the hindmost schooners, which opened a brisk but ineffective fire and bore away. They sailed so fast that more than an hour elapsed before the *Wolfe* succeeded in passing them with the intention of engaging the two ships *General Pike* and *Madison*, which led the windward line. During all this time most of the long guns in their squadron had been firing at her with singularly little effect, and all of the schooners in the weather line had passed through or into the second line with exception of the two foremost, the *Julia* and *Growler*, which hauled their wind in succession and shot to windward, either mistaking or disobeying their orders with the intention, as Yeo supposed, of raking his ship while engaged with the rest of the squadron. Yeo's next ship, the *Royal George*, was still two or three miles astern, and the *Wolfe* might have been battered to pieces before she came up. "On coming up with the *Pike* and *Madison*," Yeo wrote, "they put before the wind, firing their stern chase guns. I found it impossible for the remainder of the squadron to get up with them and made between them and two schooners, which I captured." Both of these vessels made a creditable resistance in the chase which followed. The *Growler* was soon disabled by the loss of her bowsprit, but the *Julia*, commanded by Trant, an Irishman, made a desperate attempt to get away and did not surrender until the *Wolfe* almost ran her under. The prizes were stout schooners of about ninety tons—one carrying three, the other two heavy long guns, with crews of forty men each. They were immediately added to the British squadron as the *Hamilton* and *Confiance*. The *Wolfe*, which was the only British vessel that

came within range or fired a gun, received no material injury and had not a man hurt.

An officer of the *Pike* has described the action in a letter which was printed about a month afterwards in the *United States Gazette*. "On the 10th at midnight we came within gunshot, everyone in high spirits. The schooners commenced the action with their long guns, which did great execution. At half-past 12 the Commodore fired his broadside and gave three cheers, which was returned from the other ships, the enemy closing fast. We lay by for our opponent, the orders having been given not to fire until she came within pistol shot, though the enemy kept up a constant fire. Every gun was pointed, every match ready in hand, and the red British ensign plainly to be descried by the light of the moon, when, to our utter astonishment, the Commodore wore and stood S. E., leaving Sir James Lucas Yeo to exult in the capture of two schooners and in our retreat, which was certainly a very fortunate one for him."

Chauncey excused his movement, which he described as "edging away two points," by the singular plea that he expected to draw the enemy away from the two schooners he had abandoned and desired to rescue. Cooper considers that his line of battle was well adapted to "draw the enemy down" and "admirable for its advantages and ingenuity." Roosevelt agrees with the British historian James in the judgment that Yeo's conduct was faultless, and admits that he "had attacked a superior force in weather that just suited it and yet had captured two of its vessels without suffering any injury beyond a few shot holes in the sails."

Finding that he was outsailed, Yeo ran into Toronto Bay to refit and man his prizes. "In this narrow water I shall never be able to bring their ships to action," he wrote to the Governor-General, "as I have no vessel which sails sufficiently well to second me. . . . It concerns me much to find I have such a wary opponent, as it harasses me beyond my strength. I am very unwell, and I believe nothing but the nature of the service keeps me up. I have not closed my eyes for forty-eight hours." Chauncey's vessels were again seen in the lake that day, but it blew hard during the night, and the next morning they had disappeared.

On the 13th Yeo crossed the lake with his squadron increased to eight sail, and anchored at the mouth of the Four-Mile Creek, where he landed some stores and communicated with De Rottenburg. His appearance taken in conjunction with Chauncey's departure alarmed General Boyd so much that he hurriedly summoned the force stationed at Black Rock to come to his assistance, that night if possible. Before it could obey, Yeo had gone down the

lake in search of Chauncey, who, after sending two of his schooners into the river, had returned with the remainder of his fleet to Sackett's Harbor, where he arrived on the 13th. He took on board provisions for a five weeks' cruise, sailed the same night or next day, sighted Yeo's squadron off the mouth of the Genesee on its way down the lake, and eventually returned to port after being out only five days.

"We proceeded directly for Sackett's Harbor," said the American officer already quoted, "where we victualled and put to sea the day after our arrival, August 14th. On the 16th we discovered the enemy again, again hurried to quarters, again got clear of the enemy by dint of carrying sail, and returned to Sackett's Harbor. On the 18th we again fell in with the enemy steering for Kingston, and we reached the Harbor on the 19th. This is the result of two cruises, the first of which might by proper guidance have decided in our favor the superiority on the lake and consequently in Canada." For the next nine days Chauncey remained in port, equipping his new schooner and refitting the rest of his vessels. After observing his adversary's retreat into Sackett's Harbor, Yeo returned to Kingston, where he refitted and took in provisions for six or seven weeks with the intention of remaining at the head of the lake. He delayed sailing until the 23rd in order to receive on board fifty men from a troopship laid up at Montreal, who were ordered to join the Lake Erie squadron.

Meanwhile the defection of the Indians had become so alarming that De Rottenburg seized the opportunity afforded by the accidental death of a warrior to visit their camp on the morning of the 7th, and assured them that only the want of wind had detained the squadron. Its appearance an hour or two later quite revived their spirits, and on the 9th Mr. Robert Livingston came in with a body of warriors he had recruited on the north shore of Lake Huron. Livingston was at once sent to the front and "kept the Indians who came with him in constant motion by every day annoying the enemy's piquets, and frequently brought in prisoners and scalps."

A letter from the American camp of August 15th states "that our picket guards during the week have been almost constantly in alarm. On the night of the 13th an attack was made by a pretty formidable force, but flying artillery was sent out and they dispersed. The attacks have been principally made by Indians. The British are supposed to number 2,000 regulars, 500 or 600 Indians, and 300 or 400 Indians. There is no doubt they are short of provisions."

Very early on the morning of the 13th Boyd made an ineffectual attempt to surprise the British outposts on the left. "Our pickets

retired this morning," Claus reported to Harvey. "The one in front of Ball's was fired upon by twenty rifles at upwards of 100 yards. They must have been in the bush all night. Some shots were exchanged, but the distance was too great to do any hurt. The one by Secord's did not perceive anything."

The enemy evidently still received information from some disaffected inhabitants. On the 11th August General De Rottenburg acknowledges a letter from Mr. Brenton, the Governor-General's secretary, referring to "traitorous characters who are in league with and give information to the enemy." He recommended the proclamation of martial law as a remedy, and declared that if he could obtain sufficient evidence against "one Peters," an ensign on half-pay, he would try him by court-martial.

On the morning of the 14th General Porter and Major Chapin arrived at Fort Niagara from Black Rock, having made a forced march and crossed the river at the head of 144 Indians and 220 volunteers. Other detachments followed next day, which nearly doubled their number. An agreement had been made with these Indians that they should receive \$5 for every private taken prisoner, \$30 for a captain, and a proportionate sum for officers of higher rank. They had agreed to abstain from scalping, but seem to have broken this promise at the first opportunity. Chauncey had not returned as General Boyd expected, which in his opinion rendered any important offensive movement impracticable, but he determined to employ these auxiliaries in another attempt to surprise the piquet near Ball's. The force detailed for this enterprise consisted of 300 Indians and volunteers, led by Porter and Chapin, supported by 200 regulars under Major Cummings. A brisk shower of rain caused them to abandon all hope of surprising the piquet, but their approach brought on a hot skirmish, in which, for the first time since the blockade began, they obtained a decided advantage, owing chiefly to the heedlessness of their adversaries.

Colonel Claus described the affair with more than usual detail: "When we got to the advanced piquets more parties were required to be sent out, and our number reduced from upwards of 300 to not more than 50. We had not been here long (advanced piquet) when firing commenced in Ball's fields, to which place I went as quick as possible with the few Indians I had remaining, not supported with or by the troops, and met the Senecas, who, after exchanging some shots, led us into a trap, for in the skirts of the woods there were laying the riflemen and a number of troops. We retired to the first field we engaged them in, and, after some firing, Captain Norton observed that 'it would not do, that we must retire and collect.' That was enough. The word was hardly given when all set from

the field, and Major Givins observed to me that we might as well follow. We were then alone in the field at the skirt of the wood. I endeavored to halt them, but all in vain. Our loss was severe this day. I attributed it to dividing us, for our Indians that were detached ran to the spot and met the Senecas, whom they took for our own people. Five were killed, three wounded and ten taken prisoners, besides Captain Lorinnier and Livingston the interpreter, who was severely wounded. It was nearly attended with serious consequences. The Western Indians had four of their people killed, and said the Six Nations were the cause of it. Every Indian moved off from their camp some eight or ten miles."

An American eye-witness, whose account appeared in *Poulson's American*, gives some further particulars. "Our force here is about 5,000. We had to-day a brush with the British. Our force was composed of Indians and militia. Two of our allies were brought in dead, and buried with much pomp. Twelve or fifteen white men were brought in prisoners, bound with ropes as if they had been wild beasts. Sundry scalps were exhibited fresh from the heads of the victims. One valuable farm house, with a barn and outhouses, was burnt by our people, and a field of grain set on fire which would not burn. Deserters come in daily."

Livingston was surrounded by the hostile Indians and overpowered after a desperate struggle, in which he received four painful wounds. A blow from a tomahawk destroyed the sight of his right eye, a musket ball lodged in his thigh, where it remained for many months, and he was stabbed in the shoulder and head with a spear. He complained that after being taken he was "refused the least medical aid until his wounds were swarming with worms."

The severity with which the prisoners taken on this occasion were undeniably treated, became the subject of a vigorous protest from De Rottenburg. General Boyd admitted the fact, but carefully disclaimed all personal responsibility. "When the Indians taken prisoners the other day," he replied, "were brought in with ropes around them, I immediately ordered this disgraceful badge to be taken off, and administered to their famished state from my own table. I observed a white man among them, but being told by himself that he was '*un sauvage*,' I conceived his treatment should be similar to the others. The particular rigor he has since experienced was unauthorized by me, and prohibited when the fact came to my knowledge. Since he is acknowledged a British captain, his treatment will be accordingly."

The British Indians took a partial revenge for their losses next day. Another skirmish took place on the Ball farm, which continued with the usual amount of firing and whooping for three

hours. They were well supported by a party of light infantry, and finally drove the American Indians within their lines, leaving two Senecas dead on the field and one prisoner. "The prisoner was much in liquor," Claus wrote. "He told me it was the case the day before, that they were made drunk and not supported." His own Indians had only lost a Cayuga chief killed. The Americans subsequently admitted a loss on both days of one volunteer and four Indians killed, and two or three volunteers and several Indians wounded. The result of the last skirmish seems to have had a dispiriting effect, and both volunteers and Indians soon began to leave the camp in small parties and straggle homewards.

A British officer, whose name is not mentioned, briefly noted the events of a week as they fell under his observation, in the form of a journal which was soon afterwards published in the *Montreal Gazette*:

"August 16th. I was sent with my company in the night to within three-quarters of a league of Fort George. We surprised a picket, killed two sentries and a dragoon; their cavalry coming out, we retired to Queenston without loss.

"August 17th. Captain Charles De Lorimier and fourteen Indians were surprised and made prisoners by the American Indians; two men of the 104th and one of the Royals killed, four Indians killed, Lieut. Gladwin of the dragoons wounded. We killed four American Indians and captured one.

"20th. An American deserter arrived and said the Americans were to attack us in four hours with 4000 men.

"21st. Sir George Prevost arrived. The arrival of the fleet with DeWatteville's regiment from Kingston is daily expected."

On the morning of the latter day, a party of Indians came out from the American lines bringing with them two of their prisoners, whom they released as an evidence of their good-will, and secretly proposed to the British Indians that they should retire from the contest on both sides and leave the white men to fight it out. This was resolutely rejected by the latter, who replied once more that they "were determined to share the fate of the King."

Three days after his arrival, Sir George Prevost directed a "general demonstration" against Boyd's position. The right wing, consisting of two columns, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonels Battersby and Plenderleath, moved from St. Davids against the four piquets stationed between the Cross Roads and the river, while the left, under Colonel Young, also in two columns, advanced at the same time from their camp at Four-Mile Creek, one under Lieutenant-Colonel Ogilvie, by the road from Lewis Niles' to Ball's, and the other, commanded by Major Moodie of the 104th, (afterwards

killed in '37 at Montgomery's Tavern,) by the lake road to surprise piquets one and two. Packs and all other encumbrances were left in camp. Lieutenant-Colonel O'Neil of the 19th Light Dragoons, with thirty troopers of his regiment, followed, and, supported by the whole body of Indians, covered the advance on the village. The attack began shortly after daybreak, while the fog hung heavy on the plain. All the piquets were surprised by a sudden rush nearly at the same instant, and a considerable number of prisoners taken. Captain FitzGerald of the 49th, in leading the attack on the piquet upon the Queenston Road, fell with a gunshot wound, which subsequently caused the amputation of his leg. In the confusion which followed, Captain Davenport of the 16th U. S. I., who commanded this post, escaped with most of his men, even carrying off some of his assailants as prisoners. Captain Delano of the 23rd U. S. I., retiring with the remnant of another piquet, stumbled upon FitzGerald as he was being removed from the field, and carried him into his own lines. Captain Vandalsen of the 15th U. S. I., in charge of the piquet near Butler's house, also succeeded in effecting his retreat with slight loss. Lieutenant-Colonel Harvey, who had been detailed to reconnoitre the works, dashed gallantly into the village at the head of the dragoons, scouring the streets as far as the Presbyterian Church, from the steeple of which he secured a complete view of all their intrenchments, which bristled with cannon and were crowded with men. As soon as the firing was heard and their outposts were seen flying for shelter across the commons, two columns, led by General Williams and Colonel James Miller, with two field-pieces, advanced to their relief, and their light troops began a brisk fire out of the windows of houses and from behind fences and garden walls, while the batteries of the camp were turned upon the village. Eventually these troops, which had been instructed to act strictly on the defensive, retired into their intrenchments, which were then closely reconnoitred. "No provocation could induce the American army to leave their places of shelter," Prevost wrote to Lord Bathurst, "and venture into the field, where alone I could hope to contend with it successfully. Having made a display of my force in vain, a deliberate retreat ensued, without a casualty. I am now satisfied that Fort George is not to be reduced, strengthened and supported as it is by Fort Niagara, without more troops, the co-operation of the fleet, and a battering train. To accomplish this object a double operation becomes necessary. Fort Niagara must be invested, and both places be attacked at the same moment."

A letter in the *New York Evening Post* relates that "on the 24th of August the enemy made their appearance at our advanced

post No. 6, and on being challenged, replied 'deserters.' The centinel replied 'pass deserters,' and was taken. The other centinel ran in and warned the guard, who fired and dispersed. The arms of the British were unloaded, wishing to take them by surprise, and only 17 out of 47 of whom the guard consisted were taken. In this skirmish Captain FitzGerald of the 49th was wounded. A party afterwards went out and captured him with two men, who were carrying him away. Before we had time to support our other posts, they were driven in (Nos. 1 to 5) with equal loss, and the enemy penetrated to the very centre of the town of Newark, and skirting the woods in our front rested his right on the Niagara, occupying our post No. 6, his left on the lake, and his centre within view and gunshot of our works."

Lieutenant Jones and a private of the 49th were wounded, two men of the 104th were killed and three wounded, in the course of the day's operations. The number of prisoners taken is variously stated by British authorities from fifty to seventy, and belonged to at least five different regular regiments.* General Boyd at first reported that his loss was trifling, but five days later admitted that it was much greater than he had supposed, having learned that there were five men killed and twenty-seven missing. Besides Captain FitzGerald, he stated that six privates were taken prisoners by his troops, and concluded his despatch with the absurd remark, "his force is withdrawn out of our reach into his stronghold."

An attack upon Boyd's formidable entrenchments with the very inferior force at his command would have been little less than madness, yet the spirits of the loyal inhabitants had been so much elated by a series of remarkable and un hoped-for successes that many were ready to censure the Governor-General for having declined to undertake it. A writer of the present day heedlessly condemns the reconnoissance on the assumption that "at the time no explanation of its design was offered, and it has remained to this day unexplained and inexplicable."

General Boyd's determination not to be drawn from the defensive seemed to have caused similar dissatisfaction and criticism among his troops, which as usual was readily repeated by the newspapers.

"General Boyd and Major Chapin have quarreled," says a letter from Geneva of September 3d, in the *New York Commercial Advertiser*. "Major Chapin has discharged the Indians who were under him. The cause of this disagreement was the general not supporting the major when the British made an attack and drove in the American piquets stationed at Newark. The major finding

* 2nd Dragoons, 6th, 13th, 16th and 23rd U. S. Infantry.

the British too strong for him, sent for a reinforcement of 700 men with two field-pieces. No answer being returned, Major Chapin sent for half the number and one field-piece. This was not granted. The consequence was that the British out-flanked our men, killing and wounding many, and obtained possession of the town, and from the Presbyterian church steeple they had a fine view of our encampment. The British kept possession of the town a very short time—long enough, however, for those who had been refused permission to depart from thence to leave it, which they did with shouts of joy.”

“The agreement with the Indians allows them \$5 for each private taken and \$30 for a captain, and so on in proportion to their rank. They are not allowed any sum for scalps, nor are they permitted to scalp any white person, but they have taken the liberty to scalp the British Indians.

“A few days since a private dwelling house was set on fire by our troops in Newark. The next night the Presbyterian Church was destroyed the same way. General Boyd says it was by Major Chapin’s troops, and Major Chapin declares it to have been done by the regulars.”

After the demonstration of the 24th of August, several days seem to have passed without noteworthy incident, except that Captain Gordon of the Royal Scots, in moving along the line of out-posts lost his way in a fog and entered the American lines, where he was taken prisoner by Thomas Gray, a private of the 15th U. S. infantry, who was rewarded by the gift of a silver cup “with a suitable inscription,” from General Boyd.

After being becalmed for two days near the Ducks, Yeo sailed up the lake without seeing anything of the enemy’s fleet. He sent a transport loaded with provisions into York and two others conveying men, guns and naval stores for the Lake Erie squadron to Burlington, and on the 27th appeared off Niagara with eight sail. One of his schooners ran in so close to the mouth of the river as to exchange shots with the American batteries. Next day he captured the schooner *Mary*, of Oswego, on its way to Fort Niagara with flour and lumber for the army, and crossed the lake to York. On the 29th he returned, and after landing Lieut.-Colonel Bruyeres, of the Royal Engineers, who was sent to conduct the siege operations, and a party of artillerymen, at the mouth of the Four Mile Creek, sailed for a cruise along the American shore in search of their convoys of provisions.

By this time the heat had become almost unendurable, and sickness had vastly increased. “The weather is intensely warm,” De Rottenburg wrote on the 30th, “and everybody is more or less affected by it. Colonel Stewart, Major Plenderleath, Major

Williams, FitzGibbon and a great number of others are laid up with the lake fever. We are in great need of medicines."

"Last evening our fleet came over," says Mr. Ridout, "and proceeded to the Twelve-Mile Creek on the American side to intercept supplies by water, which the Yankees have daily received. Great victory in Spain (Vittoria). De Watteville's regiment is very much wanted here. The 49th are reduced to about 370 men. This morning three companies, amounting to about 75, have arrived from Burlington; 50 Royal Artillery have joined by the fleet.

"By what I can learn, Sir George's presence here is very little sought for; he has no idea of attacking the Americans on their own ground. The summit of his wishes is to recover Fort George and remain there. The great officers say this army will be ruined by petty affairs. Some heavy cannon have arrived at Burlington. The army have been these two days out of whiskey. There is a good deal of ague among the men. The 8th have neither blankets nor great coats, but a large supply have arrived."*

It was then seriously proposed to bring a division of 2000 men under Major-General Stovin with a siege train of fourteen guns in the squadron from Kingston, land them at the Four-Mile Creek on the American side, invest Fort Niagara and begin a regular siege on both sides of the river. But this could not be done with safety so long as the American fleet was able to contest the command of the lake.

Having equipped and manned the new schooner *Sylph* and taken on board two regiments of infantry, Chauncey had sailed from Sackett's Harbor on the 28th of August. On the 3rd September he appeared off Niagara and ran into the river during the night. Yeo, being then off York, left a number of empty transports which he was conveying to Kingston for the conveyance of the siege-train to pursue their voyage alone, crossed the lake and anchored off the mouth of the Four Mile Creek on the evening of the 4th.

De Rottenburg had already removed his headquarters to the left in hope of beginning the siege as soon as Yeo returned, but his chief engineer then declared that it would be impossible to drive the American fleet out of the river and commence operations without mortars. Two ten-inch guns mounted on Brown's Point, he said, would be sufficient. "If the fleet should leave me," De Rottenburg wrote, "I cannot hold my position with so powerful a fleet in the river. If I cannot get heavy artillery I cannot attempt anything with only six field-pieces and howitzers. I have now at the Twelve-Mile Creek and at York over 500 sick." By this time nearly the

* Edgar, *Ten Years of Upper Canada*, p. 210.

whole of his Indians, except those from the Grand River, had returned to their homes, and desertion had again become alarmingly frequent among the regular troops. Two men of the 8th, four of the Canadian Voltigeurs and three of the 49th had deserted in a single day.

"We have changed our headquarters to the lake side," writes Mr. Ridout. "The encampment here is very beautiful, and is formed of the 8th and 104th and part of the 89th and 100th Regiments, consisting of 2000 men. They lie upon the edge of the woods, having large clearings in front, and the main road crossing the camp by Mr. Addison's, where the general stays. Very few troops are left in St. Davids. . . . The army is getting very sickly. There are more than 400 sick, and a great number of officers. York is considered the healthiest place for the hospitals. We cannot stand this daily diminution of strength ten days longer. Our fleet is just coming over from York—I suppose with De Watteville's regiment. Four of the Glengarrys deserted yesterday, and four American dragoons deserted to us."

But great as the amount of sickness in the blockading force may appear, the ravages of disease were vastly more serious in the American camp. A large body of men had been practically shut up within it for three months. Their encampment was badly policed, heaps of rubbish and refuse were allowed to accumulate everywhere and a horrible stench rose from the sinks, to the neglect of which the surgeons ascribed much of the ill health of the troops. With the exception of a few hot days in the beginning of June, the whole of that month and the first ten days in July had been unusually wet and cool. Then a "severe and unrelenting drought" set in, which lasted for almost two months. The village of Niagara intercepted the breeze from the lake, while the unbroken forest stretching for many miles southward along the eastern bank kept the wind away from those quarters. The pitiless midsummer sun beat down upon their camp until it glowed like a furnace. "Thus having been wet for nearly a month," says Dr. Lovell, "our troops were exposed for six or seven weeks to intense heat during the day and at night to a cold and chilly atmosphere, in consequence of the fog arising from the lake and river. The enemy's advance being within a short distance of the camp, the details for duty were large, and skirmishes taking place at the piquets every morning the soldiers were for a length of time stationed at the several works for several hours before daylight, and thus exposed to the effects of a cold, damp atmosphere at the time when the system is most susceptible to morbid impressions."

The detestable quality of the provisions furnished by the con-

tractors was another fruitful source of disease. Much of the bread was unfit to be eaten. In some cases the flour had become mouldy, in others it had been so largely adulterated with ground plaster of paris that it could be detected by the eye as well as by its excessive weight.

From less than seven hundred at the beginning of August the number of sick regularly increased to 1165 rank and file out of 4587 three weeks later. Nor did this return represent the true extent of their losses by disease. "From an estimation of numbers sick in the general and regimental hospitals," said Dr. Mann, their surgeon-in-chief, "it was my persuasion that but little more than one-half of the army were capable of duty at one period during the summer months. The officers suffered equally with the rank and file. . . . There was one regiment on the frontiers which at one time counted 900 strong, but was reduced by a total want of good police to less than 200 fit for duty in the course of two months. . . . At one time 340 of this regiment were in hospitals, besides a large number reported sick in camp. . . . Half of the medical staff attached to the regiments were also unable to perform their duty. Of seven surgeon's mates attached to the hospital department, one died and three had leave of absence by reason of indisposition, the other three were for a short period sick. So general was the sickness that the few remaining surgeons could not do full justice to their patients. . . . Deserters from the British army, of whom some hundreds came to our posts, exhibited marks of high health, while our soldiers were pallid and emaciated."

The number of deaths was not great, the only one of note among them being Colonel John Chrystie, the senior officer of that rank in the division.

Although great efforts had been made during the whole year to increase the American regular army by offering bounties and other inducements to enlist, private information received by the British commanders indicated that recruiting scarcely kept pace with their losses.

Porter and Chapin appear to have retired from the American camp with the greater part of their force about the 27th August, and after remaining a few days at Lewiston, returned to Black Rock, where they began recruiting for another "excursion." A number of their Indians still continued with General Boyd.

Wilkinson, the new commander of the "Army of the Centre," arrived at Sackett's Harbor on the 20th August with the intention of making Kingston the first point of attack, and with this object of bringing down the greater part of Boyd's division in the fleet, at the time when Yeo and De Rottenburg were actually contemplating

a similar movement of its garrison up the lake to assist in the reduction of the forts at the mouth of the Niagara. Wilkinson became alarmed when he learned about a week later that Prevost had gone westward, and sent a warning message to "prevent his playing tricks with Boyd." Then, in a highly characteristic vein, he began to cast up his chances of success. "What an awful crisis have I reached! If Sir George beats Boyd, and Sir James, Chauncey, my prospects are blasted and the campaign will, I fear, be lost. If Sir George beats Boyd, and Chauncey, Sir James, Kingston may yet be ours, but should both knights be beaten, and our quartermaster find transports in season (of which I have fears, as I have found next to none here,) then we shall certainly winter in Montreal if not discomfited by some act of God."

On the 4th of September he arrived at Fort Niagara to find Chauncey's fleet blockaded in the river and "Sir James Yeo with the British squadron vamping in front of it." This state of affairs continued until the evening of the 7th, when a light land breeze enabled the American vessels to enter the lake again. For three days both fleets remained in sight without firing a gun, and each manœvering in the hope of securing the weather gage, at a distance varying from four to eight miles. On the 11th they had disappeared, and on the afternoon of that day the British squadron was becalmed near the mouth of the Genesee. Chauncey, with a light wind, succeeded in getting within range of his numerous long guns in weather that just suited his vessels. Before sailing, the *Sylph* had been armed with four long thirty-two pounders mounted on circles between the masts, avowedly in the hope of "bringing down some of the enemy's spars." She carried besides, six long sixes in broadside and is said to have taken on board some other long guns while at Niagara. Consequently Chauncey's superiority at long range was even greater than before. But his crews had been much weakened by sickness, and deserters reported that his vessels were decidedly short-handed when they entered the river. He endeavored to make up for this by taking on board a body of riflemen to act as marines. He judiciously made the most of his opportunity by keeping out of range of his adversary's carronades and firing deliberately in perfect security. "We remained in this mortifying situation five hours," said Yeo, "having only six guns in all the squadron that would reach the enemy (not a carronade being fired.)" Mr. Roosevelt considers it a "proof of culpable incompetency" that he did not substitute some of his long guns for his carronades, but as Yeo's whole career proves him ready-witted and resourceful, there were probably excellent reasons for not adopting so obvious an expedient as this may seem to a landsman. At sunset a breeze sprung up

from the westward and Yeo made for the False Duck Islands, under which he believed that his antagonist would be unable to retain the weather gage. Chauncey declined to follow him, alleging that Amherst Bay is "so little known to our pilots and said to be so full of shoals that they are unwilling to take me there." It must have required no little audacity to write, "I am much disappointed that Sir James refused to fight me as he was so much superior in point of force, both in guns and men, having upwards of twenty guns more than we have and heaves a greater weight of shot."

The fire of his heavy guns had been attended with surprisingly little result, Midshipman Ellery and three seamen were killed and seven seamen wounded on Yeo's ship, and the brig *Melville* received a shot so far below the water line that in order to plug it all her guns had to be run in on one side and out on the other, but not a spar was lost or scarcely even injured. Having thus "exhausted his naval tactics in endeavouring to obtain the weather gage," Yeo returned to Kingston on the 15th, "almost chased" into port, to the keen disappointment of the Governor-General, who had hoped for a "decided advantage."

The booming of the cannonade had been heard far inland by the New York militia gathering to march to Niagara, and rumors of a great battle spread fast. They soon came to Wilkinson's ears, and being as "wild and extravagant as they are inconsistent and contradictory," made him sigh for "an end of this uncertainty, which damps our exertions and retards our measures."

On the 6th of September a British foraging party engaged in cutting a field of oats on Ball's farm was attacked by American Indians, and Claus and Captain Wm. J. Kerr went to their rescue with some of the Six Nations. A party of the Glengarry Light Infantry also advanced, and American riflemen came out to cover the retreat of their Indians. Firing continued for nearly three hours, before the latter were finally driven in. Two of the American Oneidas were killed and the same number wounded, while Claus had two Mohawks wounded and a drunken Cayuga warrior ran into the hands of the enemy. One of his Tuscaroras, who was very drunk, ran forward in pursuit near the close of the skirmish and drew their fire upon him, by which he was killed, and a young Delaware, who attempted to go to his relief and shot a white man in the act of scalping him, received two wounds. The Six Nations and their leaders were thanked in general orders for their good conduct in this encounter, which was the only one that took place for several days.

One of General Wilkinson's first measures was to issue an address to the Six Nations residing within the United States, calling

upon them to "organize, embody, and assemble as speedily as possible at the most convenient place" and send a deputation of chiefs to confer with him. Three hundred and fifty eventually responded to this summons and were joined by two hundred of the Oneida and Stockbridge tribes from near the centre of the State.* A brigade of 2,650 New York militia had been ordered to assemble at Lewiston on the 7th September, but it was nearly three weeks later before it actually arrived, and did not then muster quite 2000 men.

Two unimportant incursions were in the meantime undertaken by the volunteer force assembled near Buffalo. On the 14th September Chapin crossed the lake with fifty men in the hope of surprising a militia guard stationed at Zavitz's mills near the Sugar Loaf, but found that Colonel Warren had been warned of their approach and withdrawn it into the interior. Three days later General Porter landed eight miles below Fort Erie and moved up the Canadian bank to the ferry without opposition.

During all this time De Rottenburg continued to lose heavily by desertion. Every account from the American camp refers to the constant stream of deserters that were coming in, sometimes as many as seven or eight in a day and never less than two. General Wilkinson himself states sixty-five arrived in the first sixteen days of September, and that he had lost barely six. Yet he found it necessary to hang one of his own men as an example. Another officer, writing on the 13th, estimates that nearly 300 men had deserted from the British since the American army had entered Canada.

Many of the inhabitants had become so much intimidated by the severity of the enemy in the deportation of numbers of the loyalists and destruction of their buildings, that they were unwilling to take employment even as teamsters or mechanics, and the Governor-General eventually found it necessary to publish a special order protesting against "the unjustifiable practice of the United States in paroling unarmed and peaceable citizens," and stating that "several subjects had been deterred from accepting employment in their several callings as mechanics, and otherwise, for fear of being punished for violating their parole." He asserted that paroles could only be considered binding on persons actually engaged in military services or found with arms in their hands, and that a parole when lawfully taken could only extend to military service in the garrison or the field and would not preclude them from performing their ordinary duties as subjects or from the exercise of their civil occupations,

* The number of Indians in the employment of the United States on this frontier must have been considerable. As late as 1862, the claims for pensions were allowed of 83 Indians of the Alleghany Reservation, 218 of the Cattaraugus Reservation, two of Cornplanter's, 86 of the Onondaga Nation, 11 of the Oneida Nation, 17 of the Tuscarora Nation, or 415 in all.

and that in the event of any such persons being treated with undue severity, he would retaliate in like manner. It was added that there was strong reason to believe that in several instances the paroles so given had been sought by the persons themselves as affording a means of evading their military and other duties, and that all "such useless and disaffected characters" would be sent out of the country to the enemy as prisoners of war to remain until exchanged."

On the 19th of September, having remained in port four days, Sir James Yeo again sailed from Kingston, having under convoy seven small vessels loaded with supplies and siege guns for De Rottenburg. "The centre division of the army in Upper Canada," the Governor-General said in his instructions, "has long been in the singular position of investing a superior force; it is much weakened by disease and desertion, and its position rendered critical by the temporary naval ascendancy of the enemy. The policy of the American commanders is to protract the final decision, in the expectation of depriving me of the means of forwarding supplies, as it is well known the state of the country will only admit of their being transported by water. . . . This position was adopted and has been maintained in the expectation that with the co-operation of your squadron a combined attack could be made upon Fort George. You are to proceed to the head of the lake, affording a sufficient convoy to the small vessels containing those stores and supplies of which the army is in most pressing want. On your arrival at the headquarters of the centre division, you are to consult with General De Rottenburg upon the eligibility of a rapid forward movement upon Fort George, bringing up in battery at the same time the heavy ordnance, mortars, and howitzers now embarked. The attack to be supported by your squadron. If this proves too hazardous for the squadron in case of the the enemy appearing upon the lake, to state it to General De Rottenburg, who will evacuate the position he now occupies, and, having assisted him in this, to do what is possible to ensure ascendancy on the lake. The flotilla of transports to be kept employed as long as the weather will admit, in the conveying of stores from Kingston for the right and centre divisions of the army."

Instructions had already been forwarded to De Rottenburg, authorizing him to retire as far as Burlington if he thought proper, but he had replied that he would only do this in case of absolute necessity, as he must then sacrifice the resources of the country in his rear. He was now directed to maintain his position as long as it was prudent, "although exposed to a lamentable prevalence of disease and desertion and the increasing numbers and resources of

the enemy. The land operations depend almost entirely on successes of the fleet, but to have relinquished one foot of ground on which we so proudly stand would have lost all our wavering friends and have proved destructive of our Indian allies."

When these orders reached him, De Rottenburg was reduced to the verge of despair. "What with sickness and desertion," he wrote on the 17th of September, "I am now almost *au bout de mon latin*, and my situation daily becomes more desperate. More than 1,000 men are laid up with disease, and officers in still greater proportion. Daily five or six villains go off. There is no thoroughly healthy spot to retire to as far as York. Burlington is as bad as here. The fever and ague rages, and the inhabitants are as sickly as the soldiers. If you cannot send me fresh troops the country will be lost for want of hands to defend it. If I am attacked and forced back the sick will be lost for want of conveyance."

About the same time, Mr. Ridout states that "desertion has come to such a pass that eight or ten men go off daily. . . . Their deserters come in every day. They say that 4,000 men are at Fort George. The other day a Yankee picket shot two of our deserters dead. One of the 49th attempted to swim over by Queenston, but was killed by the sentry."

There can be no doubt that the distressed state of the blockading army was perfectly well-known to the enemy, and it is astonishing that he should have abstained from an attack, when success must have seemed all but certain. "If the enemy's sick list amounts to one thousand four hundred out of three thousand," the Secretary of War said to Wilkinson, "the enemy can undertake nothing with effect." When this was written, a return of the division at Fort George showed that it numbered 4587 rank and file, of whom 3422 were fit for duty.

Yet De Rottenburg gallantly prepared for the continuance of the blockade. When the autumnal rains fairly set in his position in and about the Black Swamp would no longer be tenable, and he proposed to remove his quarters to the high ground extending from Queenston to Chippawa.

For about ten days after General Wilkinson's arrival at Fort George he was confined to his bed, according to his own statement, by a "severe and unremitting malady," which caused "much depression of the head and stomach." Others roundly asserted that he was suffering from the effects of drink. On the 16th he announced that he had "escaped from his pallet with a giddy head and trembling hand," but nothing had been heard from Chauncey since his departure, and the result of the naval action was still unknown. The militia had not yet arrived, but "the Indians," he

said, "enter into our views with zeal, and I expect a corps of at least five hundred in eight days." Estimating his own effective force at 3400 and that of the British blockading him at 1600, he inquired: "Shall I make a sweep of them or not, at the hazard of the main object?"

On the 19th, a number of schooners and large boats arrived from Oswego for the conveyance of Boyd's division. Chauncey had sailed from Sackett's Harbor on the 17th, but was driven back by a storm. Next day he sailed again, and sighted the British squadron with its convoy on its way up the lake. But he made no attempt to intercept it, for the Secretary of War had come to Sackett's Harbor on purpose to supervise the operations of the army, and had said: "Let not the great objects of the campaign be hazarded by running after Yeo. These accomplished, his race is run. Kingston or the point below seized, all above perishes, because the tree is then girdled."

Yeo for his part, encumbered with transports and siege guns, was only too glad to pursue his course unmolested. The American fleet arrived at Niagara on the 23rd, and two days later 1,500 men were embarked, but a strong easterly gale prevented them from sailing. On the 26th the weather again became fair and the troops were in readiness, but Wilkinson had learned by that time that "the tantalizing Sir James Yeo was in shore with his fleet on the evening of the 24th about twenty-eight miles east of York." Chauncey sent two light vessels to reconnoitre, which reported seeing the British squadron in Toronto Bay. The American fleet of eleven ships of war sailed out of the river early on the morning of the 28th, and shortly afterwards the British squadron was descried beating across the lake. Any movement of troops down the lake in the face of a hostile squadron was out of the question, and Chauncey went out to meet it. Yeo lay to about twelve miles away and awaited the attack. Again Chauncey had the wind in his favor and was able to choose his distance. Firing began about noon, and within a quarter of an hour a lucky shot from one of the *Pike's* long guns carried away the main topmast of the *Wolfe*, which in its fall brought down the mizzen topmast and main yard. The flag-ship became quite unmanageable on a wind, and to save her Yeo was obliged to put before a strong gale, which had begun to blow, towards Burlington Bay. His flight was nobly covered by the *Royal George*, commanded by Captain (afterwards Sir W. H.) Mulcaster. "This vessel," says Mr. Cooper, "kept yawing athwart the English Commodore's stern and delivering her broadsides in a manner to extort exclamations of delight from the American fleet."* A running fight was continued in this manner for up-

* History of the U. S. Navy, vol. II, p. 374

wards of two hours, until within about ten miles of the head of the lake, when Chauncey abandoned the pursuit. One of the bow guns on his flag ship had burst, tearing up the top-gallant fore-castle, dismounting a pivot gun mounted there and killing or wounding no less than twenty-two men. Five others had been injured by shot. The confusion incident upon such an accident was no doubt sufficient to justify hauling off, but in addition to this the *Pike* had lost her main topmast, her bowsprit, fore and main masts were badly wounded, her rigging and sails cut up, and several round shot had pierced her hull below the water line, which kept all her pumps going. The *Governor Tompkins* was disabled by the loss of her foremast, and both the *Madison* and *Oneida* had their spars cut up by round shot.

The foretopmast of the *Royal George* fell just as she came to anchor, but the British squadron does not seem to have lost a man. Two days were occupied in refitting, during which Chauncey kept the lake, being in sight much of the time. Yeo was intensely annoyed at the unusual experience of having to run from an enemy before a man was hurt, and was overheard by his pilot to say to Mulcaster: "If we were on the high seas I would risk an action at all hazards, because if I were beaten I could only lose the squadron, but to lose it on this lake would involve the loss of the country. The salvation of the western army depends on our keeping open their communications."* This affair was ever after known in his squadron as the "Burlington Races."

About two hours after the American fleet had sailed to meet Yeo, a numerous flotilla of Durham boats was observed to come out of the river and anchor at the mouth of a creek beyond Fort Niagara. The movements of the contending ships of war were watched with the deepest anxiety by the officers of both armies until they went out of sight. The Americans were able to "distinguish the *Pike* firing both her batteries, and frequently enveloped in smoke." Captain O'Connor, one of Yeo's officers who was ashore with De Rottenburg, took a station on Queenston Heights, whence he saw the *Wolfe* lose her topmasts and the entire squadron run into Burlington Bay. Before dark all the American boats re-entered the river, as General Wilkinson feared to attempt the voyage without a convoy. He peevishly complained that he "had difficulties, perplexities and anxieties sufficient to discompose a saint."

The movement of troops and artillery across the river could not fail to be observed by De Rottenburg, and deserters assured him that Sackett's Harbor was their destination. This information seems to have prompted him to undertake a counter demonstration

* Coffin, *The War and its Moral*, p. 167.

on the morning of the following day. An order was issued for all the troops to be in readiness to move at an instant's notice, tents were struck, and wagons loaded. A deserter then made his escape to Fort George, bearing this note addressed to Major V. Huyck, 13th U. S. Infantry: "Every movement of the army is either an advance or retreat; about 2270 strong." This opportune bit of information was written by Noah Hopkins, a saddler at Queenston, who was the son-in-law of an American colonel, and seems to have been constantly employed as a spy. He was afterwards detected and hung for treasonable practices, on the 20th July, 1814. The intelligence brought by this man caused something like a panic in Wilkinson's camp, but finally two strong columns marched out to oppose the attack if one was intended, or profit by the retreat. As neither took place, they returned to their quarters without doing anything.

On the 1st of October Chauncey returned to Niagara, still watched by Yeo, who anchored at the mouth of the Twelve Mile Creek. Leaving about 1,800 regulars, militia and Indians to occupy the forts and camp, Wilkinson finally embarked the remainder of his forces and set off on his long projected expedition. Yeo's opportune appearance on the 7th of September had caused a delay of eighteen days; his return on the 20th had been responsible for the loss of another week, when time and fair weather was of the utmost importance. Although he had gained no brilliant success and had finally been compelled to seek safety in flight, his services to the army had been most meritorious and effective. "In executing his orders," even Mr. Cooper is constrained to admit, "the English Commodore, who was an officer of rare merit, manifested great steadiness, self-denial and address, and the skill and boldness with which he manœuvred received the applause of his enemies."*

The long beleaguering of the American camp was now about to close abruptly. As soon as General Wilkinson's purpose was placed beyond doubt De Rottenburg despatched to the defence of Kingston three of his strongest regiments and prepared to follow himself, leaving Vincent to maintain the blockade as long as possible. The defeat of the British squadron on Lake Erie was followed by General Procter's retreat from Detroit and his total rout on the Thames. Parties of New York militia raided the frontier between Fort Erie and the Falls, and large bodies of these troops were seen assembling at Lewiston and Fort Niagara.

"The Americans have possession of our side as far down as Samuel Street's, and have plundered all the loyal inhabitants of their property," writes Mr. Ridout on the 2nd October. "The

* Naval Hist. of U. S., II, 381.

greater part of the settlement being Dutch Mennonites, are friendly to the enemy and assist them in everything. We have lately taken a number of their waggons.

"We expect some serious movement every hour, as the enemy are in great force at Fort George. . . . We are driving all the cattle from this part of the district towards the head of the lake. The Chippawa and Short Hills country is stripped of cattle, and to-day they are driving them from the vicinity of the camps. The waggons stand ready loaded with the baggage which moves in the rear."*

On the 6th there was a lively skirmish, in which the light company of the Royal Scots drove Chapin's volunteers through the streets of the village and entered it in pursuit. Colonel Scott, who was in command at Fort George, turned his artillery on the houses, when the Scots hastily retreated. They lost one prisoner and five wounded, while Chapin admitted losing six men killed and ten wounded, besides some prisoners.

Three days afterwards, when De Rottenburg had gone as far as the Twelve Mile Creek on his way to Kingston, he met the panic-stricken adjutant of General Procter's staff, who falsely reported that the whole of his division had been captured, and that the American mounted riflemen were rapidly advancing upon Burlington from the scene of the disaster. This story caused an immediate retreat in much hurry and confusion, although, fortunately for them, there was no attempt at pursuit. As it was, a considerable quantity of stores were destroyed and the sick and wounded suffered dreadfully. "Upwards of 300 men upon the road," says an eyewitness, "and waggons loaded with miserable objects stuck fast in mudholes, broken down and unable to ascend the hills, and the men too ill to stir hand or foot."

The audacity and success with which a protracted blockade had been maintained by a greatly inferior force is indisputable. From the 14th of July until the beginning of October the main army of invasion from which so much had been expected had not only been hemmed in and held in check, but kept in constant terror of attack, while it wasted away with desertion and disease.

"The army at Fort George," says Dr. Mann, who was with it all the time, "consumed the most eligible season of the summer and autumn for effective service cooped within the narrow limits of a few acres of land by a force of the enemy not exceeding one-half of its strength, and, under a constant apprehension of an attack, placed itself wholly in a state of defence. This apparent pusillanimity or want of confidence on the part of the army emboldened the

* Edgar, Ten Years of Upper Canada.

enemy to insult by repeated attacks upon its advanced piquets night after night. This *petit guerre* kept the army in constant alarm and subjected the troops to vexatious fatigues, unremitted duty, and multiplied exposures, which prevented them from taking their necessary repose. When an enemy exhibits great military talents, we are disposed to allow him all the credit due in a martial point of view, even when by artful deceptions and judicious management with a force inferior he was enabled to apparently check the offensive operations of our army and compel it to place itself in a position entirely defensive.”*

* Medical History of the War, pp. 94-6.



CHRONOLOGY.

- 1813.
- May 27 The British evacuate Fort George and retreat to Beaver Dams.
- " 28 The Americans advance to Queenston and St. Davids. Colonel Preston occupies Fort Erie. Vincent retires to the Forty.
- " 29 General Chandler returns to Niagara to embark on the fleet.
- " 30 Colonel Preston issues his proclamation.
- " 31 Vincent retires to Burlington.
- June 1 General Winder advances to the Fifteen.
- " 2 He advances to the Thirty.
- " 3 He advances to the Forty. General Chandler marches to his support.
- " 4 Chandler arrives at the Forty.
- " 5 The Americans advance to Stoney Creek and drive in the British piquets.
- " 6 Action at Stoney Creek. The Americans retreat to the Forty. General Lewis is instructed to assume command of the division.
- " 7 Lewis arrives at the Forty. The British fleet is seen from Fort George, and General Dearborn send orders to Lewis to retreat. The British squadron arrives at the Forty.
- " 8 Sir J. Yeo cannonades the American camp at the Forty, sails to Burlington, and returns. He pursues and captures the American boats. The Americans retreat and Major Evans occupies their camp.
- " 9 Major Dennis advances to the Twenty. The Americans evacuate Fort Erie and Queenston. The Lincoln militia take possession of Queenston.
- " 10 Vincent advances to the Forty. Skirmish at the Ten. The Americans remove their armed vessels from Black Rock.
- " 12 Yeo sails from the Forty, and takes two American vessels at Eighteen-Mile Creek. British piquets advance again to St. Catharines.
- " 14 Sir George Prevost publishes his counter-proclamation.
- " 15 Yeo lands at the Genesee.
- " 16 He arrives at Kingston and sails again. The *Lady Murray* taken by the Americans. FitzGibbon occupies DeCew's house. Chapin enters Canada.
- " 17 Yeo menaces Oswego.
- " 19 Yeo lands at Sodus. Chapin arrives at Fort George. Dearborn orders arrest of the loyal inhabitants.
- " 20 Yeo returns to the Forty. DeHaren and Ducharme arrive with reinforcements. Bisshopp advances to the Twenty. Dearborn writes for Indians.
- " 22 Skirmish at Lundy's Lane.
- " 23 Colonel Boerstler advances to Queenston.
- " 24 Action at Beaver Dams.
- " 25 British Indians retire to the Forty.
- " 28 Vincent advances to St. Catharines.
- " 29 British outposts advanced to the Four-Mile Creek. Yeo returns to Kingston. De Rottenburg assumes command.
- July 1 The British occupy St. Davids.
- " 4 Fort Schlosser taken.
- " 5 Skirmish near Fort Erie. Western Indians arrive. The Six Nations have a "talk" at Queenston.
- " 7 The British occupy Fort Erie.
- " 8 Skirmish at Butler's Farm. Indian council at the Twelve. British scouts cross the river near Black Rock.
- " 11 Attack on Black Rock. Skirmish at Ball's farm.
- " 14 General Dearborn retires from the command.
- " 15 Arrival of the remainder of the Royals and 104th.
- " 17 De Rottenburg removes his headquarters to St. Davids. Skirmish in Ball's fields.
- " 20 A squadron of the 19th Dragoons arrives.
- " 21 Indian Council at the Cross Roads.
- " 23 American fleet sails from Sackett's Harbor.
- " 25 Indian Council at the Cross Roads.
- " 27 American fleet arrives at Fort George and embark troops.
- " 30 Americans land at Burlington.

1813.

- July 31 Americans land at York. Yeo sails from Kingston. De Rottenburg reconnoitres Fort George.
- Aug. 1 Americans burn barracks at York.
- " 3 American squadron returns to Niagara.
- " 7 British squadron appears off Niagara. General Porter crosses below Fort Erie.
- " 8 Two American schooners upset in a squall.
- " 10 Yeo captures the *Julia* and *Growler*.
- " 13 Yeo lands stores at the Four-Mile Creek. Skirmish near the Cross Roads.
- " 14 General Porter and Major Chapin arrive at Fort George with 364 volunteers and Indians.
- " 16 Skirmish at Ball's farm. British Indians defeated.
- " 17 American Indians defeated at the same place.
- " 21 Sir George Prevost arrives in the British camp.
- " 24 Reconnoissance in force of the American works.
- " 27 British squadron appears off Niagara.
- " 29 Yeo lands reinforcements at Four-Mile Creek.
- Sept. 3 American fleet enters the river.
- " 4 General Wilkinson takes command of the American army.
- " 6 Skirmish at Ball's farm.
- " 7-9 The fleets manoeuvre off the mouth of the river.
- " 10 Wilkinson issues an address to the Indians.
- " 11 Naval action off the Genesee.
- " 14 Chapin lands at Sugar Loaf.
- " 17 Porter lands near Fort Erie.
- " 19 A fleet of American transports arrives at Niagara.
- " 23 Chauncey's fleet arrives at Niagara.
- " 28 Naval engagement. The British squadron driven to Burlington.
- Oct. 1 Chauncey returns.
- " 2 Wilkinson sails for Sackett's Harbor with 4000 men.
- " 6 Skirmish. Chapin's volunteers driven in by the Royal Scots.
- " 9 The British army begins its retreat to Burlington. End of the blockade.

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Its objects are: The encouragement of the study of Canadian history and literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian historical relics, the building up of Canadian loyalty and patriotism, and the preservation of all historical landmarks in this vicinity.

Each member shall pay an annual fee of fifty cents.

The annual celebration shall be held on the 17th of September in each year.

The society shall hold eight regular meetings during the year. These meetings shall be held on the second Thursday of the month.

The annual meeting to be held on October 13th.

OFFICERS—1897-8.

Patron—WM. KIRBY, F. R. C. S.

President—MISS CARNOCHAN.

Vice-President—HENRY PAFFARD.

Secretary—ALFRED BALL.

Treasurer—MRS. A. SERVOS.

Curator—CAPT. WILKINSON.

Committee.

REV. J. C. GARRETT,
W. F. SEYMOUR, B. A.,
JNO. D. SERVOS,
MRS. ASCHER,
MISS CLEMENT.

Hon. Vice-Presidents.

PETER WHITMORE,
MRS. ROE,
CHAS. A. F. BALL.

Honorary Members.

DR. SCADDING, MAJOR CRUIKSHANK,
REV. CANON BULL, CAPT. M. KONKLE,
WM. GIBSON, M. P., R. O. KONKLE,
MAJOR HISCOTT, M. P. P.



"Ducit Amor Patriæ."

NIAGARA Historical Society.

NO. 4.

MEMORIAL TO U. E. LOYALISTS,

By Jas. Coyne, B. A., Pres. Ontario Historical Society.

HISTORY TAUGHT BY MUSEUMS,

By David Boyle, Curator Ontario Archæological Museum.

BATTLE OF QUEENSTON HEIGHTS.

By the Hon. J. G. Currie.

MONUMENTS,

By Janet Carnochan, President Niagara Historical Society.



THE TIMES
BOOK AND JOB PRESSES
NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE.
1898.

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ITS objects are the encouragement of the study of Canadian History and Literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian historical relics, the building up of Canadian loyalty and patriotism, and the preservation of all historical landmarks in this vicinity.

Each member shall pay an annual fee of fifty cents.

The annual celebration shall be held on the 17th of September.

The Society shall hold eight regular meetings during the year. These meetings shall be held on the second Thursday of the month.

The annual meeting shall be held on October 13th.

OFFICERS, 1898-9.

Patron—WM. KIRBY, F. R. S. C.

President—MISS CARNOCHAN.

Vice-President—HENRY PAFFARD.

Secretary—ALFRED BALL.

Treasurer—MRS. A. SERVOS.

Curator—RUSSEL WILKINSON.

COMMITTEE.

REV. J. C. GARRETT,

MRS. ASCHER,

MISS CLEMENT.

W. W. IRELAND, B.A.

MRS. T. F. BEST.

HON. VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. ROE,

CHAS. A. F. BALL,

HONORARY MEMBERS.

DR. SCADDING,

WM. GIBSON. M.P.,

CAPT. R. O. KONKLE,

REV. CANON BULL,

MAJOR CRUIKSHANK,

MAJOR HISCOTT,

DR. JESSOP.

dium of their liberties, Simcoe could not have brought a more welcome message than when he described the system he was called upon to administer among them as "the very image and transcript of the British constitution." This was their ample reward for defeat, confiscation and banishment. With joy and confidence they set themselves to the arduous and glorious task to which Providence had assigned them. Extending their clearings in the trackless and illimitable forest, they were to transplant in this new soil British laws and British institutions, and to guard and transmit to their successors the germ of a great idea—the solidarity of the British race and empire

This may be said of the U. E. Loyalists. They had, it is true, the defects of their qualities—a certain intolerance and hauteur, an undisguised contempt and hatred of opinions at variance with their own, were perhaps not uncommon. But they kept alive the idea of loyalty, of respect for law and order, of liberty as opposed to license, and above all of the unity of the race.

Admired and esteemed by all, Simcoe may be fairly regarded as the type of many of the best of the Loyalists. The epitaph upon his monument in Exeter Cathedral describes him as one "in whose life and character the virtues of the hero, the patriot and the Christian were so conspicuous that it may be justly said: "He served his King and country with a zeal exceeded only by his piety towards God." It was eminently fitting that both classes of Loyalists should be equally honored in his monument. The figures of a Queen's Ranger and an Indian support his sculptured bust. Through the ages, Simcoe's name will be cherished by Canadians of whatever origin for the great work he accomplished as the official head of the pioneers of Upper Canada, and for the lofty ideal he steadily kept before himself and them.

For nearly five years the Parliament of Upper Canada met at Niagara. In the life of a nation this is a brief period, but it was an era of the greatest importance in our history. For, during those five years, in your little town, the fundamental laws of the Province were passed. The law of England was introduced, together with trial by jury; slavery was abolished; the due administration of justice was provided for by the establishment of courts

and the construction of courthouses and gaols; for the security of land titles a registry system was established; standard weights and measures were enacted, and the first militia, assessment and road acts were placed on the statute books of Upper Canada.

Those were the flourishing days of Niagara. The present year is the centennial of its fall. In 1797 the seat of Parliament was transferred to Toronto. That was the beginning of the end of your ancient glories. Formerly a great emporium of the fur traffic, and at a later period a centre of the wholesale trade and of shipbuilding, Niagara has seen its trade destroyed by the progress of settlement, the rise of other commercial and manufacturing centres, and the construction of canals and railroads. For a century or more it had been regarded as the chief military defence of the country of the upper lakes. Across the river, Fort Niagara still flings its flag to the breeze. On this side, Fort Mississauga, the ruins of Fort George, Butler's Barracks, and the annual summer camp remain to remind us of a military history "of old and just renown." The ancient capital must always continue, however, to be not merely what nature has made it, one of the loveliest spots in America, but also from its historical associations, one of the most interesting.

To its more ancient memories of the old régime, are added those which cluster round the names of Sir Wm. Johnson, Simcoe, Molly and Joseph Brant, Rogers, Talbot, Butler, Littlehales, De Peyster, Guy Johnson, General Brock, Laura Secord, Fitz-Gibbon, Sir Allan M'Nab, Sir John Beverley Robinson, and many others, which Canada will not willingly let die.

Your own society has done good service in preserving the history of Niagara and the Niagara district. The work of Mr. Kirby, Miss Carnochan, and Major Ernest Cruikshank is of lasting importance. May they live long to continue their researches and to hand down the results to future ages.

The first of the colonies to receive from the Imperial Parliament the boon of representative institutions, Canada was the first to combine a number of provinces into a federal union. It was natural and proper, therefore, that in the Jubilee celebration which has recently taken place in London, the position of pre-

cedence should have been given to Canada amongst all the self-governing colonies. It is a source of satisfaction to all Canadians that the Dominion should on so important an occasion have been represented by a statesman possessing the grace and tact and winning speech and presence of Sir Wilfred Laurier. He easily took the foremost place among colonial premiers, by virtue of his personal qualities as well as the etiquette of colonial precedence.

In the history of the empire the Jubilee must always be considered an event of the first importance. It was the occasion of the first council of representatives of the whole Empire of Britain which was ever called. It was the occasion of a free-will offering by the Dominion of Canada to the mother country, of a trade concession, considered by Imperial authorities to be of supreme significance.

“ ‘The gates are mine to open
‘As the gates are mine to close,
‘And I abide by my mother’s house,’
Said Our Lady of the Snows.”

The commercial value of the concession may be great, but its sentimental value is incalculable. The export trade of Canada has as a result increased by leaps and bounds. But above all, the Imperial bond of union has been strengthened as never before.

The Jubilee is further signalized by the reversal of the foreign commercial policy of the Imperial Government at the instance of a colony—the first case on record of such a change. The denunciation of the treaties therefore marks an epoch in the commercial history of the Empire.

The unity of the Empire has further been recognized in a practical manner by the great learned societies. For the second time the British Association for the Advancement of Science has met in Canada, and its meeting is said to have been the most successful ever held. For the first time the British Medical Association has met in Canada and under highly favorable conditions.

In the Olympic games of the Empire, held at Bisley Common and elsewhere, Canada has carried off some of the highest honors.

In many ways our Dominion has attracted the approving at-

tention of the Empire and the world during this Jubilee year, which must always be a year of vast historical importance.

With our population of six millions, our trade of two hundred millions, our vast commercial interests in shipping, railways, canals, elevators, our free Parliaments, our universities, colleges, and unrivalled system of primary schools; our territory, larger than that of the United States, and nearly as large as all Europe; our agricultural and timber wealth; our limitless harvest of the seas, and our undreamed of mineral resources in Ontario, Kootenay and the Klondyke, what prophet can foretell the achievements of the next century?

But for what we have achieved and what we shall perform in future years, let us acknowledge our debt to the beginners of the Canadian nation. The seed sown by them has yielded an abundant harvest. "God hath sifted three kingdoms to find the corn for this planting," said the old Puritan divine. Doubly, trebly winnowed, was the golden grain for the planting of British North America.

Reaping now the full fruition of their labors, we should not in this Jubilee year forget the noble men and women who, guarding a great idea, gave up home and property, the familiar scenes of youth and the associations of a lifetime, to brave the perils of the pathless wilderness, to seek new homes for themselves and their children in the vast northern forest, and to establish British laws and institutions securely once more under the red-cross flag. Although the makers of British Canada came from many lands, and in later years chiefly from the triple kingdom across the seas, yet the pioneers among the pioneers were undoubtedly the United Empire Loyalists.

I am afraid we are apt to forget that the Loyalists, to a considerable extent, were the very cream of the population of the Thirteen Colonies. They represented in very large measure the learning, the piety, the gentle birth, the wealth and good citizenship of the British race in America, as well as its devotion to law and order, British institutions, and the unity of the Empire. This was the leaven they brought to Canada, which has leavened the entire Dominion to this day. "Just as the twig is bent the tree inclines," and Canada will bear to its latest age the impress

of the United Empire Loyalist.

From such an ancestry the principles of religion, patriotism, law and order, have been inherited by the people of Canada.

“Yea, though we sinned and our rulers went from righteousness, Deep in all dishonor though we stained our garment’s hem,”

Still the native instinct of British respect for law and order and righteousness never died out, but at the last has saved the nation. In many things relating to material progress, no doubt we have fallen short of the great Republic across the river, but we can justly and proudly claim that if life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness are objects worthy of the care and protection of government, our own constitution guards these more successfully than does that of our neighbors. With their annual harvest of 10,000 murders and 200 lynchings Canada does not desire to compete. Since the Conquest it can probably be affirmed with truth that there has never been a case of lynching in the history of British North America. Beyond all question, life and liberty are more secure in Canada than in the United States; safer in the Kootenay than in Colorado, in the Klondyke than in California, in Manitoba than in Missouri, in Ontario than in Ohio. Our churches are well filled. Our legislation keeps pace with the requirements of advancing civilization. Our Legislatures and Municipal Councils are fairly representative, and largely free from corruption. Our laws are based upon the principle of equal justice to all. In all these particulars the influence of the U. E. Loyalists is to be seen. Their motto was : “Love the Brotherhood, Fear God, Honor the King.”

In all ages and countries the beginners have been deemed worthy of especial honor by succeeding ages. The Romans preserved for centuries the wild fig tree of Romulus and Remus as an honored relic; the Englishman proudly records his descent from the Normans who conquered at Hastings; the landing places of Cartier and Champlain at Quebec and Montreal are carefully identified and commemorated; Plymouth Rock records the landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.

It is eminently fitting that the landing-place of the pioneers of Upper Canada should be distinguished by some conspicuous and lasting memorial.

It is true that in a general sense their monuments are the cleared forest and the fruitful field, the tall factory, the thronged wharf and market, the great institutions of religion and learning, of art and benevolence, the reign of law and order, the love of liberty conjoined with loyalty, and the breed of men who carry on the work begun and hold high the banner borne by the pioneers of a century ago.

But a just respect for their memory demands some formal and permanent token, by which posterity may be constantly and directly reminded of the debt of honor and gratitude they owe, and stimulated to pay it by effort and achievement worthy of their blood—"that their days may be long in the land." The tombs of pioneers may become neglected and dilapidated. The rude railing in the midst of the field enclosing their sunken graves may crumble to decay. The fading inscription on the wooden slab, recording the dates of birth and death of the stout hearted Ranger or his brave wife, is at last obliterated by the hand of time. Historical societies such as yours will, it is true, gather up written records of the past and reminiscences of aged citizens, thus saving from oblivion the names and deeds of individuals. But the entire community should combine to perpetuate the memory of great national events. Therefore let the pillar or cairn be placed near the Loyalists' landing, "plain for all folk to see." Every Canadian who reads its inscription will, we would fain hope, feel his heart swell with commendable pride, and be inspired to emulation of those brave men and women who sacrificed all to duty, and who, while strenuously maintaining their liberties, established upon a lasting foundation British laws and loyalty and religion and order, and the principle of a united empire, in the northern land, which it is our fortune to have inherited from them.

History Taught by Museums.

By DAVID BOYLE, Curator of Archaeological Museum, Toronto.

We are all history makers—each of us is a small lump of history.

Mentally, as well as physically, we represent the development of our race.

If we trace our genealogy for not more than ten generations we find that we represent more than 2,000 families, and if we double the number of generations we shall discover that we are connected with 1,937,152 men and women of separate families.

We cannot get away from this fact.

History can deal only with the past—the *present* itself becomes the *past* before we can formulate a notion of the *present*.

The past alone is ours, with the exception of one instant we call the present.

As the product of the past we are all interested in it, actively or passively. If *actively*, we become instructors, educators, moulders of men.

History lies at the foundation of every other science.

An ancient aphorism is "Man know thyself," and a modern poet tells us that the "Proper study of mankind is man."

History has always been the same in its essence as it is to-day, but its treatment in literary form is not now what it was only a few years ago.

Recent historians recognize the part quietly played by human nature wholly apart from plots, murders, and bloody battles, important as such events were, are, and for a time at least, must continue to be.

Account is now taken of what were once thought beneath the dignified notice of the historian—no habit, no mode of life, no funeral custom, no method of catching or preparing food, no fash-

ion in clothing, no system of government, no mode of selecting rulers, no notions of justice however crude any or all of them may be, or may have been, are now regarded as too trivial for observation, because it is from simple beginnings that everything originates.

In this country recorded history begins only a few hundred years ago, and in some localities it is but a lifetime since.

Now is the time to catch for ourselves what has escaped so many elsewhere.

If we do our duty now we shall provide material for future study such as no other country in the world can supply—for notwithstanding the statement that we have no history, we have one of the most brilliant and instructive histories any country could desire.

It has been said that the country is happy that has no history.

This is sheer nonsense. It is as if one should say, happy is the man who never had any experience.

The history of our Empire is the most glorious history pertaining to any empire or republic that has ever existed.

We as Britons, have done more than our share in the advancement, in the civilization, in the humanizing of our race, and those of us who find ourselves in this country have no reason to be ashamed of what our people have achieved here.

Let us in no braggart or vain-glorious spirit hand down our record to the ages.

To accomplish this, literary effort should be supplemented by that which is more material in its character.

In matters archæological it is found necessary to *show* the ancient tools and ornaments, and this method of illustration is no less a *sine qua non* in matters historical.

The Tower of London contains the materialized history of England since the days of King Alfred, and a thousand museums throughout Great Britain and Ireland possess that which alone renders many portions of history probable, while in numerous instances literary records would prove incomplete, fallacious or confusing without the work of the antiquarian.

Object-teaching is the oldest kind of teaching we know about.

It has been recently revived in our schools. Other things being equal, the most successful teacher is he who makes the best use of the blackboard even with advanced pupils.

The desire to *see* things is one of the strongest of human desires. Hence "shopping;" hence our shows and fairs; hence theatricals; hence travel, adventure and discovery; hence our immense national and international exhibitions.

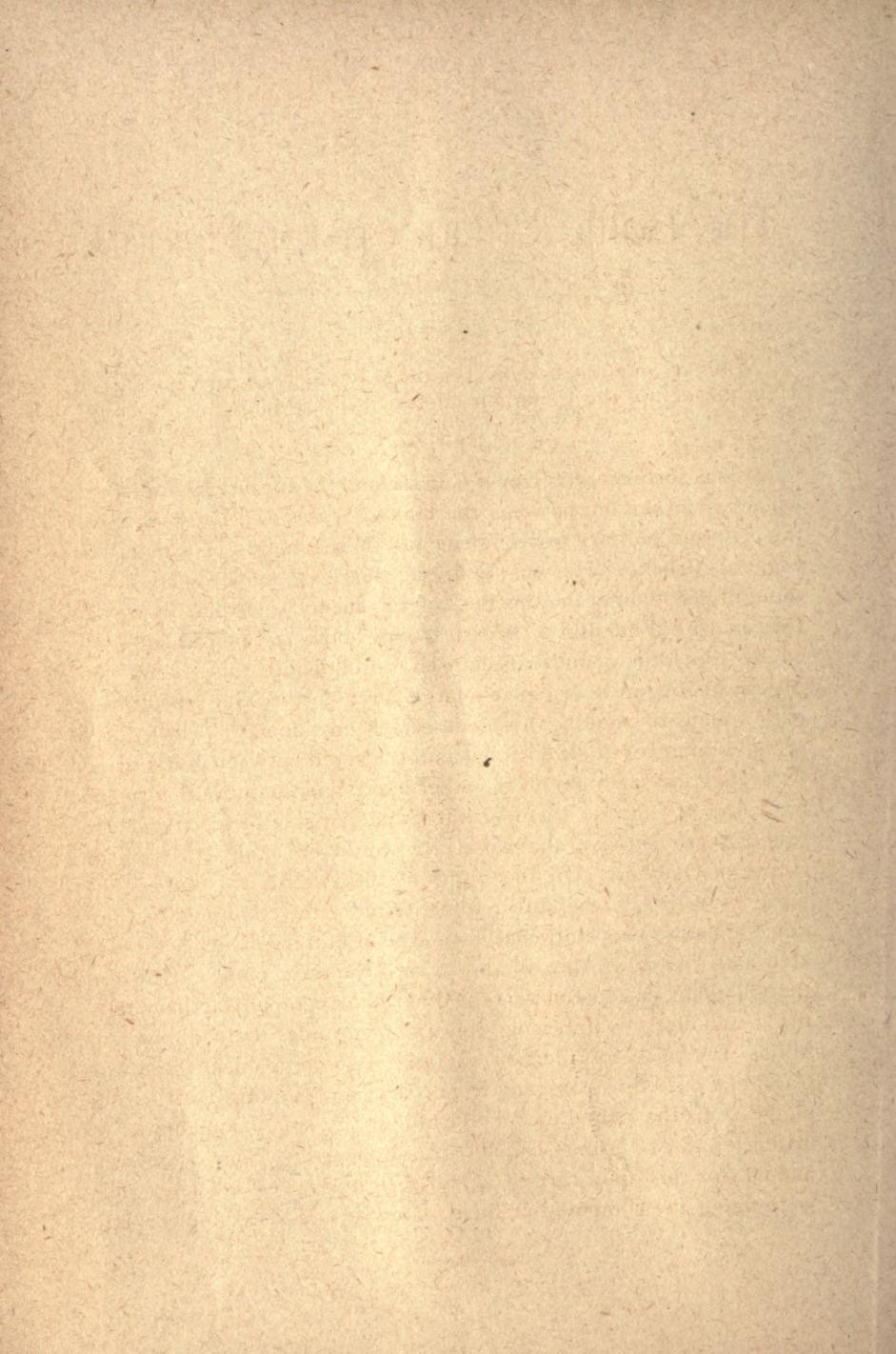
For local history purposes there is nothing superior to the local museum, always made and provided that said museum shall be true to itself. It must not become a mere heterogeneous collection—a mass of bric-a-brac, or a heap of curiosities.

Every object should illustrate a point, enforce some statement or elucidate something obscure, and should be provided with a clear and copious label.

We all require to be reminded of what we were, and it is good for us to see how our forefathers accomplished their tasks in the face of what *we* consider disadvantages.

Many young Canadians to-day would go about the chopping of a tree with considerable awkwardness; it seems incredible to them that there ever was a time when it was difficult to procure a light, and they can realize only with difficulty that not very long ago there were no post office facilities, no telegraphs or even no telephones.

The local museum should be the place to teach us all how much we now have to be thankful for, besides giving us clear ideas as to the origin and development of present day comforts, and it is the bounden duty of every well-wisher to his community to aid in building up such a collection as will be highly creditable to the people themselves. Wherever there is a good library there should be an equally good museum. One without the other is incomplete.



The Battle of Queenston Heights.

By HON. J. G. CURRIE, of St. Catharines.

Notes of an address delivered on May 24, 1898, at Queenston Heights, before the Canadian Historical Pilgrimage.

It was fortunate for Upper Canada and the Empire that in 1812, when war broke out between the United States and Great Britain, the civil and military government was in the hands of a man like General Brock. He was a brave, fearless soldier who never thought of danger in the face of an enemy. Brock captured Detroit with a handful of British troops and a few militia supported by the Indians under Tecumseh. Following this event, the Americans began to organize a large force on the Niagara frontier with a view to making a second attack on Canada. Their force probably numbered seven thousand, scattered between Buffalo and Fort Niagara. Brock, on the other hand, had not more than 1,500 or 1,600 to oppose them on the Canadian side of the river. He was perfectly satisfied that an attack would be made early in the month of October. On the night of the twelfth of October, the light company of the 49th regiment, under the command of Captain Williams, was stationed in the redan battery, which was situated half way down the hill and toward the river bank. Down in the village of Queenston was the other flank company of the 49th—the Grenadiers, numbering only 46 men under the command of Major Dennis. In addition to those two companies, there was Captain Chisholm's company from York, and Captain Hatt's company from the 5th Lincoln Battalion. A small detachment of artillery had two guns—called "grasshoppers." They were well named, for they only carried a ball weighing 3 lbs. These guns were under the command of Lieut. Crowther, assisted by the late

[Captain Ball, who lived at the Four-Mile Creek.

The morning of the 13th of October was very stormy and blustering. It rained and blew heavily, and under cover of the darkness, and before daylight—probably between two and three o'clock a.m.—the Americans commenced crossing the river, their first landing being near where I am pointing. There was quite a bank then which protected them. They were seen, however, by the militia sentinel who ran to the guardhouse instead of firing his musket, and giving an alarm. When the Grenadier company of the 49th (Brock's own regiment) and the militia companies saw the invading force, they commenced firing upon them, using the two little "grasshoppers" which did capital execution. The officer in charge of the Americans was severely wounded, as well as a great many of the rank and file before they got far from the river bank, in fact, they were driven back. There was a gun planted at Vrooman's Point which commanded the river, and several American boats were injured by its fire in their attempts to land early in the engagement. Some of the battered boats drifted down to a point in the shore known as "the deep hollow," where they ran ashore and between seventy and eighty of their occupants were made prisoners.

In the meantime, Captain Wool, of the American service, took some of his men up the river and in shore until they came to the fisherman's path, traces of which can still be seen under and near the old ruined bridge. They succeeded in reaching the heights by means of this steep and narrow pathway without being discovered.

When this early morning invasion was commenced, General Brock was in the barracks of Fort George in Niagara, seven miles away. He was an early riser, but the night previous he sat up until after midnight writing despatches, and wrote also what was to be his last letter to a brother in England. By daybreak he was aroused by the sound of distant firing, immediately ordered his horse and galloped up the road leading from Fort George.

On that morning the battery at the first point (Vrooman's) was guarded by Captain Heward's volunteer company from Little York. A battery at Brown's Point was in charge of a company of Toronto volunteers under the command of Captain Cameron. When these companies heard the firing and saw the flashing of the artillery and

musketry, Captain Cameron proceeded without orders toward the heights to a point near the pine grove that now stands.

Brock had travelled so fast, that he overtook and passed this company. He was alone, not even an aide-de-camp being with him. As he galloped by he signalled to the troops to hurry on. In a few moments he reached and passed Vrooman's battery. By this time the General was overtaken by his two splendid aides, Captain Glegg and Colonel McDonnell, then Attorney General of Upper Canada. A student under McDonnell was one of the participators in the battle of Queenston Heights—John Beverley Robinson, afterwards Chief Justice of Upper Canada.

Brock speedily reached the redan battery, on the side of the heights, with one 18-lb. gun (which commanded a portion of the river) and entering the enclosure, found only eight men in charge. No sooner had the commander entered the battery, than shots were fired upon it from the men who had gained the top of the hill. This revealed the fact to him that the foe had gained the heights. While in this dangerous and exposed position, Brock and his gunners narrowly escaped being captured. It was now about seven o'clock in the morning. The battery was evacuated, but not until the artillerymen had taken the precaution to spike the 18-pounder. Brock had not time to mount his horse, but led it down the hill-side and entered the village to reform his troops. All he had at that time was less than 200 men, viz. : 46 of the Grenadier company, between 46 and 50 of the light company and two companies of militia. With that small force Brock, as I think injudiciously, undertook what 2,000 men could hardly with prudence attempt, viz. : to storm this height with such a handful of men. Brock was mounted when he led his men, but it is stated in history, and I doubt not truly, that when he came to the stone wall near the base of the hill, he dismounted and thereafter led his men on foot. The only stone walls existing at that time in Queenston were one around Judge Hamilton's house and one this side of Mr. Thomas Dickson's house—the first low house I am pointing to, which was built by him some time before the war. It was at this latter wall that Brock dismounted. He was on the left of his men, leading them up, and had not proceeded very far when he received the

fatal bullet. He muttered but a few words when he died. His men retreated to the far end of the village. For the *first* time the 49th showed their back to the enemy. Brock's remains were carried off by his men and were taken to a house then occupied by Laura Secord—the house from which she went to milk her cow, the time she gave warning to the British, and Boerstler's corps was captured by a handful of men under Lieut. Fitzgibbon.

Our troops retreated, as I have said, to the far end of the village. The two companies of York volunteers from Brown's and Vrooman's batteries joined them there and increased the combined force by that number. About half past nine, Colonel McDonnell attempted to do what Brock had failed to accomplish two hours before. He repeated the movements but was defeated and received a wound from which he died the next day. Again our men fell back, but further than the end of the village, to Vrooman's Point. where they waited until reinforcements should come from Fort George, comprising three or four companies of the 41st, with some militia, but in the meantime young Brant with 120 Indians, came up from the lake shore near Niagara, ascended the mountains near St. Davids and moved east until they hemmed the Americans in. They kept them pretty well in their place for several hours and until reinforcements arrived.

By two o'clock in the afternoon, if we had been here and looked down that road below Queenston, we would have seen horses and men splashing through the mud. Captain Merritt, the originator of the Welland canal, and the first suspension bridge across the Niagara, near the Falls, had arrived with his troop of yeomanry. Following him, came Captain Halcroft with two cannons and one howitzer, a company of regulars and two companies of militia. They no doubt made quite a show and were anxiously watched by the foe from this summit who were expecting another attack. Instead of that, General Sheaffe pursued a prudent course. This beautiful stretch of country, now covered with fruit trees, was then covered with a dense forest. None of the clearings extended back more than twenty or twenty-five chains from the river, for the people had not been long settled. General Sheaffe took a road leading west and then went south and ascend-

ed the mountain without being seen by the enemy. The first thing the Americans knew of Sheaffe being on the summit was when they were about a mile above here. He advanced his men as far as the old Chisholm place, when the force formed a line coming down this way. As a result, the Americans had to change their front. The Indians had occupied the woods along the brow of the mountain. Next to them on the left was a company of colored troops from Niagara, for in those days we had a great many negroes here. Slavery had been abolished in Upper Canada, but not in the United States, and therefore many a colored runaway found a refuge on this side of the river.

The two little grasshopper guns were hauled up by ropes and the Canadian line was formed facing the Americans. The Indians commenced the action, followed by the whole force. The Americans numbered 800 or 900, in command of Col. Winfield Scott, one of the best officers in their service, and afterwards the conqueror of Mexico. He was then in the prime of life. Brock stood six feet two in his stocking feet, but Scott was six feet four. He was a splendid officer, and he must be given the credit that is his due. His services along the frontier were the most valuable of the American officers. He made a stump speech to his men, calling on them to redeem and capture the cannon taken at Detroit, and telling them they were in a tight place and must fight to the death as the river was between them and their country. Capt. Holcraft's artillery, being out of range, limbered up and reached the burning ruins of Judge Hamilton's house. From this point he commanded the river and silenced the field battery across the stream and prevented any further force from coming to the Americans.

In a few minutes the real battle of Queenston Heights was raging, but it did not last long. The red men uttered a series of war whoops which added to the terror and confusion. Our two little guns were again put to work and soon every musket and cannon was in use. It was soon all over—a cheer and a dash, and the old Union Jack brought down the Stars and Stripes.

The loss on the Canadian side was not heavy—not more than 19 killed and 50 or 60 wounded. Of course we lost two grand

men—Brock, the hero and idol of the people of Upper Canada, and his aide, Col. McDonnell. Both were brave men, and both fell in defence of King and country. Thus ended the battle of Queenston Heights.

Brock's remains were afterward taken to Fort George and buried in the bastion he himself had built a few months before. In 1815, after peace had been secured by treaty, the Legislature of Upper Canada voted £1,000 to build a monument to Brock, but that was not enough to finish it. In 1820 £600 additional was granted. £1,600 was a large sum for the poor settlers of that day. In due time the monument was built. On the 13th October, 1824, Brock's remains were taken from Fort George to the Heights where he had fallen. It was a great day, with an immense gathering of people from all parts of the Province. The procession was two miles long and it took four hours to traverse the seven miles. Minute guns were fired from Fort George and also from the American Fort Niagara, and I might say that on the day he was taken to Fort George the American fort also fired their minute guns as a token of respect for a brave enemy. Near the end of the eventful day the body of the dead hero was deposited in what is now known as the first monument, which stood a few yards to the south of the brow and east of the present monument, the foundation still being visible.

On the 13th of April, 1840—a Good Friday. I will not say how old I then was, I well remember—I heard a loud report which startled the whole village and country. Some base wretches from the other side, having an ill-feeling against our country, came over, placed powder in the monument and destroyed it, shivering it from top to bottom. It was not quite so high as the present structure, but was perhaps better placed for view. You could ascend to its top and walk on a balcony, whereas in the present monument, the only view one has is through small round holes in the walls. The deed was execrated in both countries, and if the amiable feeling now prevailing between us had existed then, they would have sent the miscreants back to us for trial and execution.

The people of Upper Canada felt that their hero's grave was

desecrated. The monument that cost so much was gone, and it was resolved to erect another. Sir George Arthur, then Governor of this Province, called upon all the militia of Upper Canada to assemble on these heights on the 30th of June, 1840. I took part in that great meeting. It was a beautiful day. Just such a day as this. I secured a good position right on the edge of the top, and had a panoramic view of the thrilling sight. Ten steamers came slowly up the Niagara in line, from Toronto, Cobourg, Hamilton and Kingston, with H. M. S. Traveller bringing up the rear, with the Governor and his suite and many leading people on board. The ships landed their passengers at a wharf that stood at "the deep hollow," and everybody climbed the hill to the height. The militia officers were all in uniform, and a good, plain serviceable uniform it was, blue suit, with epaulettes and silver or tinsel on the top, sash and sword. The officers formed into two lines, between which passed the Governor and the other notables. People came from all parts of the Province, the day being declared a holiday. The Height was crowded. The Royal Artillery fired a salute. It was a grand military and civil display. Among the military were the 93rd Sutherland Highlanders, with a piper's band; and a squadron of the 1st King's Dragoon Guards in burnished helmets. The meeting being called to order, several speeches were made by Governor Arthur, John Beverley Robinson, Chief Justice McLean, altogether the best by Judge Sullivan, among others Sir Allan McNab, and Judge Hagarman. A resolution was unanimously passed that the people of Upper Canada should build a new monument, finer and better than that destroyed. Parliament was not asked for a copper, and the regulars and militiamen, both officers and men, were asked to give one day's pay to the object. In due time the contributions came in until over \$50,000 was gathered. The monument (and the keeper's lodge at the gateway) cost \$47,000.

Between the destruction of the old and the completion of the new monument, Brock's remains were buried in the private burial ground of the Hamilton family. In 1853, his dust, and that of McDonnell, were placed in the sarcophagus in this monument, where it is to be hoped they will remain in peace.

Perhaps I might mention in conclusion an interesting incident on the day of the great procession and meeting already referred to. When the speeches were being made, a young British tar from "The Traveller" started to climb hand over hand up the lightning rod that stretched from bottom to top of the wrecked monument. It was a perilous undertaking, for one did not know at what moment the shattered and cracked structure might give way, nor could one tell how much weight the rod would bear, but the brave lad reached the topmost gallery and swinging himself over the projecting coping, climbed on top. The ten or fifteen thousand people below held their breath in anxious suspense as the boy began to feel for his pocket and to pull therefrom a ball of twine and let it down, with which he drew up a heavier one with a Union Jack, and at last, the flag was attached and filled out grandly in the breeze. Then a tremendous cheer rent the air, and before the daring fellow reached the ground safely, a hat was passed around, and he received substantial reward for his bravery.

[The address of Mr. Currie was kindly taken in shorthand by Mr. Frank Yeigh, the leader of the pilgrimage party, at the request of the President of the Niagara Historical Society.]

* * *

After his address, Mr. Currie was requested to accompany the pilgrims to the earthworks to the south of the present monument, where he pointed out the portage road down which Gen. Sheaffe marched on his way to attack the Americans, and the formation of the forces when they engaged in battle about four o'clock in the afternoon. In speaking of the earth works he said it used to be questioned very much by whom and when they were erected. Some said they were built by the French before the conquest, others by the Americans on 13th October, 1812, and many thought they were built in 1814 by the force under Brown of the American army which encamped on the heights for several days. He was pleased to be in a position to settle the dispute, as he had in his possession a letter, which had lately come into his hands, dated the 4th September, 1814, written at Hope Cottage, Fort George, by the wife of the officer under whose direction they were

built—Lieutenant Jenoway of the 1st Scots Royals. This letter states that after the erection of Fort Mississauga at the mouth of the river, Lieut. Jenoway was ordered up to Queenston to erect the earth works. This would be in the early summer of 1814. He completed the works and mounted the guns, but soon after when Gen. Brown crossed at Fort Erie on 3rd July, 1814, before the battle of Lundy's Lane, the lieutenant was ordered to destroy them as much as possible and remove the guns to Fort George. He partially destroyed the works and got the guns to Fort George.

It may safely be said that in the last hundred years we have made a good deal of history, of most of which we may be proud, and of little of which we have any reason to be ashamed.

MONUMENTS.

A paper read before the Ontario Historical Society, at Oshweken, at the Annual Meeting, June 1st, 1898, by Janet Carnochan, President Niagara Historical Society.

UNITED EMPIRE LOYALIST MEMORIAL.

A stately monumental pile build high,
Where landed on our sloping, smiling shores
Those loyal souls, who suffering nobly bore,
That they and theirs, "God save the King," might cry
With steadfast heart, and voice heard far and nigh—
Matron and maid, and son and sire, who tore
Themselves from pleasant hearths and homes, nay more—
From silent graves, where loved ones peaceful lie.

Build then a shaft, "plain for all folk to see"
To tell that every spot is hallowed ground
Veined by the blood of those who fain would be
Still Britain's sons, as witness many a mound.
Forget not we the red man, our ally,
For faith his like, nor gold nor land can buy.

Why are monuments erected? Where? What, and how? are questions which may be asked and which should be answered satisfactorily, in any discussion on the subject. In all ages and nations, it has been the custom for civilized man to erect some memorial of great men, great deeds or great deliverances, to stand in gratitude, or warning, or remembrance. In Bible history, when the children of Israel miraculously crossed the Jordan, they were instructed to take twelve stones from the river, in commemoration of the deliverance. In Egypt, the pyramids and sphinx, monoliths and columns, stand to this day, riddles which modern ingenuity has not yet solved, shewing the mechanical skill, mathemat-

ical knowledge, perseverance and dogged industry of the Egyptians. The Rosetta stone and Moabite stone proclaim victories. In India the Taj Mahal in the city of Agra, that dream of beauty to the memory of a beautiful woman by her loving husband, costing millions of money and years of work ; in London the great fire is commemorated, and holy men and women have erected costly fanes, in gratitude to God for some signal deliverance ; triumphal arches have been erected ; our great men have been honored, as that triumph of carved stone, the most remarkable to any literary man, Sir Walter Scott's monument, and the Albert Memorial to him whom Tennyson called Albert the Good, who "wore the white flower of a blameless life."

And of late years the expatriation of the United Empire Loyalists is coming to take its proper place in history, is seen in its true perspective, an event that has scarcely any parallel in history except the Acadian Expulsion, or that of the Huguenots from France after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes. For the first public expression of the necessity of a monument on our shores to mark the landing place of the U. E. Loyalists, we are indebted, as far as I am aware, to Rev. Canon Bull, the respected President of Lundy's Lane Historical Society, in his report when President of the Provincial Association, his suggestion being to place a cairn with the names of the families who landed here. Surely the landing on our shores of a people coming through dangers multiform, by devious, dangerous ways to an almost wilderness is an event to be commemorated, an event which has had results far reaching and important, for it may truly be said that had not the great majority of people in Canada been U. E. Loyalists the results of the war of 1812 might have been far different, for the strong determination of Canadians to defend their territory was intensified in the case of those who had suffered so much to maintain the unity of the Empire.

It has been said that three nations were sifted to produce the Puritans, and again were they sifted to form the U. E. Loyalists. Canada has at last awaked to the fact that she has a history, and she has also awaked to the need of commemorating her sons. Monuments to Wolfe and Montcalm, to De Salaberry and Ryerson, to

Macdonald and Brown, that at Lundy's Lane to the heroes of that burning July day, and crowning the mount from which we behold so wonderful a panorama of river, lake and plain, the martial figure of the Hero of Upper Canada.

Could the stories be gathered up of the journeys through the wilderness, in the canoe, skirting lakes, swimming rivers, bringing with them pathetic reminders of their homes, now treasured relics, volumes might be written. The romantic story of Mrs. Land almost equals that of Evangeline in its interest. The home of the Loyalist burnt in his absence, he flies for his life, thinking his wife and children had perished in the flames, and reaches Canada, living the life of a misanthrope, while the wife and children reach Nova Scotia, thinking the husband and father slain, but the wife, grown restless and wearying, hoping she might yet hear of her husband, comes by slow journeyings to Niagara and hears of a solitary settler named Land forty miles away, and again takes up the weary march, finds a log house, and her long lost husband, who, after thirteen years, scarcely knows his wife and children. The story might make a thrilling Canadian romance. Then the story of Magdalene Whitmore, *nee* Servos, who as a child saw the murder of her Loyalist grandfather, and after many years is brought to Canada to her father's new home and there becomes the mother of the wife of our great novelist, Mr. Kirby. Well may he tell the story so feelingly, and no wonder, having heard it in these U. E. homes so often.

“And they who loved

The cause that had been lost, and kept their faith
To England's crown and scorned an alien name
Passed into exile, leaving all behind
Except their honor, and the conscious pride
Of duty done to country and to King.
Broad lands, ancestral homes, the gathered wealth
Of patient toil and self-denying years
Were confiscate and lost * * *
Not drooping like poor fugitives they came
In exodus to our Canadian wilds,

But full of heart and hope, with heads erect
And fearless eye, victorious in defeat,
With thousand toils they forced their devious way
Through the great wilderness of silent woods,
That gleamed o'er lake and stream, till higher rose
The northern star above the broad domain
Of half a continent, still theirs to hold,
Defend and keep, forever as their own.
Their own and England's to the end of time."

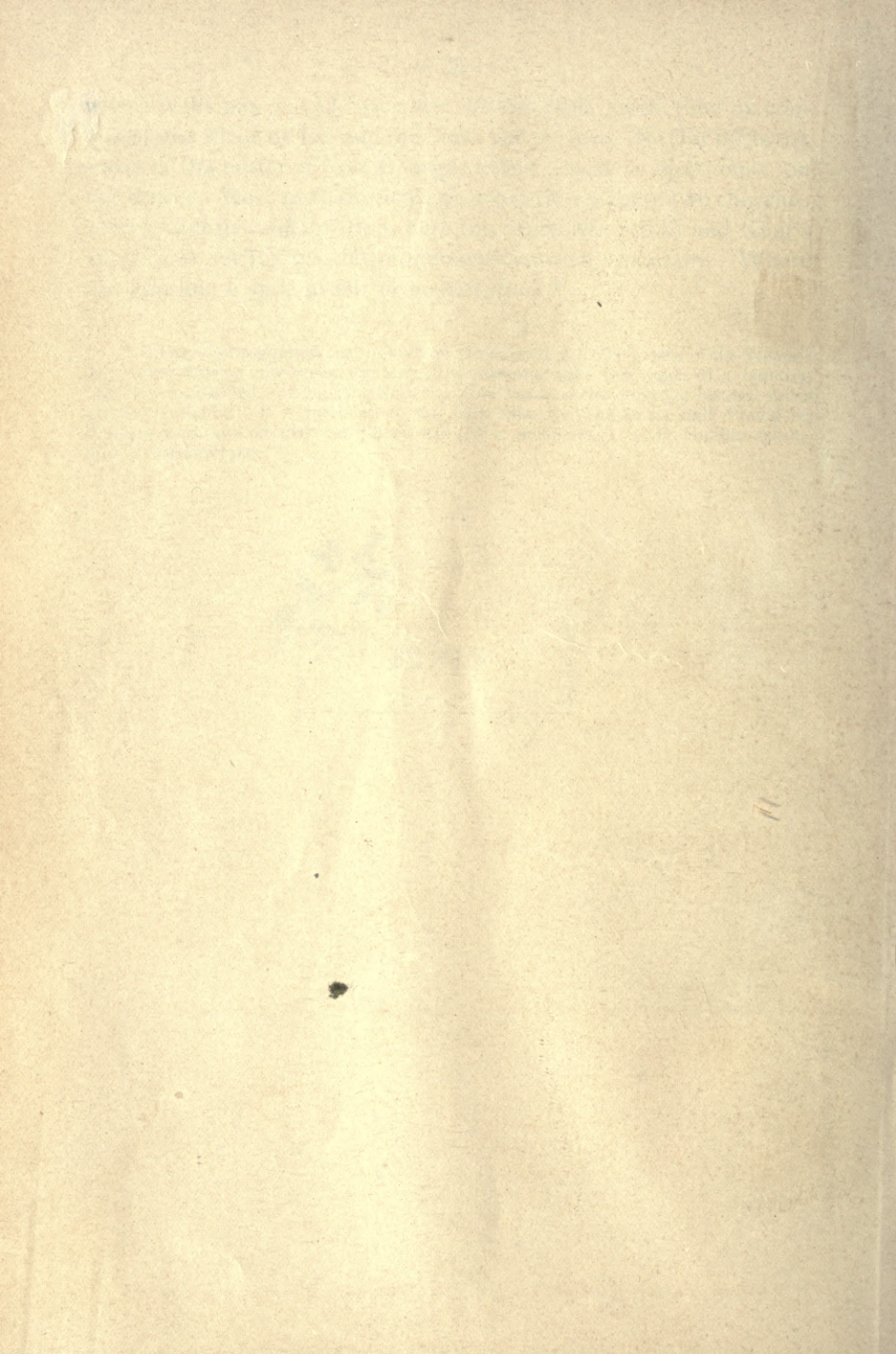
Let us not forget the part borne by our red brethren who may also be called United Empire Loyalists, and let us not forget their losses and sufferings, the deprivation of their land in the first place when they saw their hunting grounds moved back and ever backward, at the resistless march of settlement, and next the loss of the protection of their Great Father and the almost impossibility to them of believing that even the lands of which they felt secure were again lost, that they too must seek other hunting grounds if they wished to be the allies of Britain, seeing their fields laid desolate, their crops destroyed, and let us not forget that much material help was given by them. Was not the victory of our immortal Brock at Detroit assisted by the presence of our Indian friends? And with Sheaffe at Queenston their presence helped to gain the day, and at Beaver Dams and Moravian Town they well and nobly played their part. We rejoice that so noble a monument has been erected to the great chief Brant, and much would we be delighted were there one also to Tecumseh, who was so able, so eloquent, so wise, so brave. May the day soon dawn, as at Buffalo to Red Jacket, may a noble statute to Tecumseh be erected

And now we ask that some memorial should mark the spot where landed these men and women, nay children too, who were so soon to do their part in making every spot in this Niagara peninsula historic, nay holy ground. Let this monument be a cairn or a building, a shaft or a tower. Let it tell to all that Canada cherishes the memory of all that is true and noble, self-sacrificing and patriotic. From this spot may be seen Fort Niagara with its memories of La Salle, that man of iron frame and iron will, from

whose walls has waved twice the Union Jack (each time by conquest), the Fleur de Lis and the Stars and Stripes. Not far off is the scene of the battle of Fort George, where stood a lighthouse on our shores. Here too a century ago arose the spires of two churches soon to fall in conflagration, here too were Navy Hall and King's wharf and not far off the monument-crowned mountain. Where can you find a spot so fair or so historic ? *

* It has been suggested that in view of the collection in the rooms of the Historical Society having now become so large, the memorial take the shape of a building with tower attached, the building to be fire-proof, as so many precious historic relics are here gathered. It is intended to ask help from the Dominion and Provincial Governments, and circulars have been sent out to members of U. E. families asking advice and assistance.





"Ducit Amor Patriae."

NIAGARA
Historical Society.

No. 5.



SERMON by Rev. Robert Addison.

HISTORY of Mrs. Jean Baptiste Rousseaux.

HISTORIC Houses. —

EVOLUTION of an Historical Room.



THE TIMES
BOOK AND JOB PRESES.
NIAGARA-ON-THE-LAKE, ONT.
1899.

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ITS objects are the encouragement of the study of Canadian History and Literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian historical relics, the building up of Canadian loyalty and patriotism, and the preservation of all historical landmarks in this vicinity.

Each member shall pay an annual fee of fifty cents.

The annual celebration shall be held on the 17th of September.

The Society shall hold eight regular meetings during the year. These meetings shall be held on the second Thursday of the month.

The annual meeting shall be held on October 13th.

OFFICERS, 1898-9.

Patron—WM. KIRBY, F. R. S. C.

President—MISS CARNOCHAN.

Vice-President—HENRY PAFFARD

Secretary—ALFRED BALL.

Treasurer—MRS. A. SERVOS.

Curator—RUSSEL WILKINSON.

COMMITTEE.

REV. J. C. GARRETT,

MRS. ASCHER,

MISS CLEMENT,

W. W. IRELAND, B.A.

MRS. T. F. BEST.

HON. VICE-PRESIDENTS.

MRS. ROE.

CHAS. A. F. BALL.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

DR. SCADDING,

WM. GIBSON, M.P.

CAPT. R. O. KONKLE,

REV. CANON BULL,

MAJOR CRUIKSHANK,

MAJOR HISCOTT,

DR. JESSOP, M.P.P.

PREFACE.

THE fifth pamphlet of the Niagara Historical Society, will, it is hoped, be received as favorably as the preceding numbers. The sermon by Rev. Robert Addison will be a pleasing surprise and will form a worthy companion to those of the other early ministers of Niagara which have been preserved. Found almost by accident, its leaves yellow with age, it has been a pleasing task to prepare it for the printer. For some time it has been desired that there should be some description of several historic houses, built before the war whose history is closely interwoven with the story of those heroic days, and we hope that the history of many others may be told before these deeds are forgotten, ere

The race of yore
Who told our marvelling boyhood legions store,
Of their strange ventures, happed by land or sea,
Are blotted from the things that be.

So many of the early homes of the Niagara region were destroyed by fire in the War of 1812, and so many precious relics and valuable records thus perished that it is all the more incumbent on us to gather up all that can now be gained of the stories of pioneer life. Any who can assist in this way will confer a benefit on the Societies which are now endeavoring to make up for the long indifference of the past

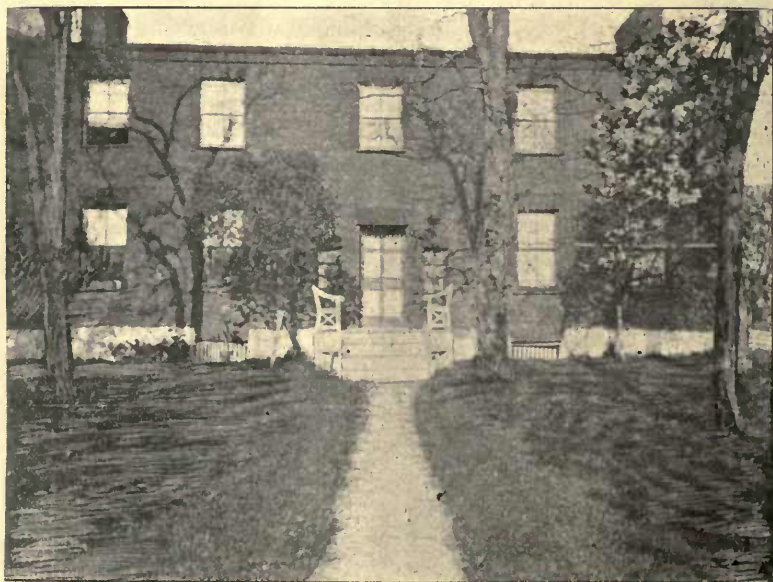
THE Historical Room is open every Saturday afternoon from 3 to 5.

The pamphlets issued by our Society are :

- No. 1. Taking of Fort George, with illustration of Niagara River, 27th May, 1813, by Major Cruikshank. 20 cts.
- No. 2. (With three illustrations.) Centennial poem by Mrs. Curzon ; Fort Niagara, by Canon Bull ; Slave rescue in Niagara, 1837, by Miss Carnochan. 20 cts.
- No. 3. Blockade of Fort George, with illustration of Niagara 1806, by Major Cruikshank. 25 cts
- No. 4. Memorial to United Empire Loyalists, by Jas. H. Coyne, President of the Provincial Historical Society ; History taught by Museums, by David Boyle, Curator of Archaeological Museum, Toronto ; Battle of Queenston Heights, by Hon. J. G. Currie ; Monuments, by Janet Carnochan. 20 cts.
- No. 5. The present issue. 20 cts.



The residence of Jas. McFarland, Esq., built in 1800. Used as a hospital during war of 1812-14.



Residence of Geo. Field Esq. Used as a Hospital during war of 1812-14.

An Old Time Sermon.

Sermon preached by the Rev. Robert Addison, the first minister of St. Mark's, Niagara. The first page was torn and somewhat defaced, so that there is a slight break. The time must have been shortly after the close of the war of 1812-14.

1 Peter, 4th, 8th. "And above all things have fervent charity among yourselves, for charity shall cover the multitude of sins."

The heavenly report of these words can be construed in no other light than x x x on the minds of the benevolent a due and laudable impression. The object I wish to present to you my friends in my discourse is to x x x x

but this is not applicable in the present instance and though I would not wish to throw out any observations to give even a coloring of encouragement to idleness, still I would not wish on the contrary by any cold remarks to hold back the hand already stretched forth, and I may say participating in the christian like feeling of the heart to relieve the necessitous, though the object should be unworthy of bounty. This would not detract from our virtue. If we err let us err on the side of mercy and leave the justice and judgment to Heaven. Allow me then my friends to present to your view the objects I advocate and such objects as are advocated by our blessed Lord, *the Fatherless and the Widow*, such is the plain pitiable tale, it requires not the power or force of eloquence to lighten its misery, on you whose hearts are sensibly alive to the distress of your fellow creatures, who know best how to believe and administer to their comforts. These poor people have a strong claim; I thought they were strangers, far from their country and home, when I say strangers I mean not immediate-

ly known to us except by their misery; I had been misinformed. They are British subjects, however with ourselves and came here in the late war with the U.S. The head of the family bravely stood forward in defence of the country, but was unhappily taken prisoner. In this situation of difficulty and distress he fully proved his loyalty by contriving and procuring at his peril the means of escape for two useful and respectable militia officers, one of whom is dead, and the other lives in this place. He did not, he could not escape himself. His young and numerous family joined him in the States and as soon as he could arrange his humble affairs, he returned to the country of his affection and came in hopes of bettering his circumstances by honest and laborious industry. But alas, such is the uncertainty of human life and everything connected with it, so thin the partition between happiness and misery, life and death, that in one short moment the whole scene can be changed and sadly reversed, to-day all joy and sunshine, to-morrow afflictions and clouds, and which of us can say even the most affluent that such reverse of fate is not impending over and ready to burst upon our head.

Is it in the power of man to avoid or avert the wise dispensations of Providence, I trust there is none so mad as to think so, tho' 'tis too evident that poor, blind unthinking creatures there are who act as if they did. May the Almighty illuminate their minds with His Heavenly knowledge, that they may turn from their evil ways and flee from the wrath to come. Believe me, the best way to avoid the just and deserved punishment of our sins both here and hereafter by the Almighty disposer of all events is to humble ourselves before Him, to implore in fervent prayer with minds abstracted from every earthly consideration, his pardon, grace and mercy, and to copy the example and precepts of His Blessed Son, our Lord and Redeemer, and although we cannot attain to His spotless, pure and holy life, yet our endeavors in the trial shall not lose their labour nor reward.

In my present discourse I will inquire how this great duty of charity is recommended to us in the Holy Scriptures. There was nothing our Saviour inculcated more strongly into the minds of His disciples for the

instruction and blessing of all generations than that brethren should love one another and have charity, and here I beg to remind you of the following passage in the 19th chapter of Matthew, 16, 17, 20 and 21st verse, "And behold one came and said to him, Good Master what good thing shall I do that I may have eternal life, and He said unto Him, why callest thou me good? There is none good but one that is God, but if thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments. The young man said unto him, all these things have I kept from my youth up, what lack I yet? Jesus said unto Him, If thou wilt be perfect go and sell that thou hast and give to the poor, and thou shalt have treasure in Heaven, and come and follow me," We find the young man went away on hearing the conditions of his salvation, exceedingly sorrowful, for he had great possessions. The question asked of our Lord at first might seem equivalent to the enquiry, what must I do to be saved. But our Lord saw that His judgment was erroneous and his heart unhumbled and carnal, He therefore first objected to his giving him whom he supposed to be a mere man, the title of good as all men are evil in themselves, and none is strictly and absolutely good but the one living and true God, the fountain and perfection of goodness and excellency. The remark was the more needful as the Rabbis affected this title and it intimated that the inquirer was not properly sensible of the depravity of his heart or the dignity of the person whom he here addressed, to whom the title of good belonged in a far higher sense than he supposed. He then directed him to keep the commandments of God if he meant to enter life by the good things he should do. He ignorantly replied by inquiring which of the commandments he was to keep. Whereas a perfect obedience to all of them is the indispensable condition of life according to the covenant of works, and cursed is everyone that continueth not in all things written in the book of the law to do them. The young man, regardless of the first table and ignorant of the spiritual precepts adduced, answered, he had kept them all from his youth, He could only mean the letter and that he was free from the grosser violations of it, for doubtless he had infringed several of them and he certainly was very far from loving his neighbor as himself. To this he added an

enquiry, what was yet wanting to complete his righteousness, but our Lord, to discover to him and others the evil that lurked under these false appearances, told him he yet lacked one thing and that if he would be perfect he must go and sell his estate, distribute the money to the poor and follow Him, and then he should have everlasting treasure in Heaven. The reward offered for the sacrifice of this man's riches when he found it was indeed his wealth that should purchase it by bestowing it as our Lord desired and his sorrowing at the terms and of course refusal of them showed that the true spirit of Christianity was not in him, nay, that the devil indeed had yet power over his heart, for if he had faith in Christ he never would have declined an immortal crown of glory for any earthly riches whatever.

In the 9th and 10th verses of the chapter I have taken my text from are also these words, "use hospitality, one to another without grudging as every man hath received the gift, even so minister one to another as good stewards of the manifold grace of God." Whatever be our circumstances in this world, whether wealthy or poor, we are undoubtedly stewards of the Great Lord of all, and as undoubtedly will have to render an account of our stewardship at the dreadful day of reckoning and judgment, everyone according as hath been given unto him. Yet alas, how few think of this moral certainty and are still more criminal in the eyes of God, if knowing it they neglect it, if they know it not they are ignorant of the great word of truth, the Bible, but let them I pray take heed ere too late lest they should be called to render an account that would doom them to eternal misery.

There are few of us so blind but we must perceive the superfluous expenses mankind enter into to gratify their pride and their passions. The very expense of superfluities that are unnecessary to their comfort or happiness would be sufficient to support many poor, honest and industrious families. But there are many men such gross and brutish sensualists as disgrace the beautiful order of our creation, that it seems nothing would rouse them to either a sense of their own infamy or induce them to perform one heavenly act of charity, to mitigate one crime of their

iniquitous and useless lives, or hide one of the multitude of their sins. May the Almighty in His great mercy open their ears to wisdom and their hearts to understanding ere He calls them from this life of evil and temptation. The more we think on the prodigality of those stores entrusted more or less to man for the prudent and useful benefit of all, the more must we ever censure such lavishers of them. If they have a spark of that grateful and delightful feeling in their hearts that good men have when they perform a good and generous action, an approving conscience, they would acknowledge 'twas beyond all the satiating luxury and empty pomp this world could bestow. There is an inward satisfaction in doing a benevolent act without ostentation that a good man would not barter if he could for wealth. Innumerable are the opportunities my friends of thus indulging such gratifications. If we do not meet them immediately under our own eyes or even in our daily walks, still if we have the will to learn we too truly shall find out the abodes of penury and disease,

The lowly, glorious and blessed Jesus, the Redeemer of us miserable sinners, condescended to minister consolation to the afflicted of every description, Will men then that were lost and condemned but for the sufferings of their Saviour refuse to follow His Heavenly example or think it a shame or reproach to them and beneath their dignity to be found alleviating the distresses of the poor and needy. If of such we are ashamed, I fear our Lord will pronounce at the dreadful Day of Trial an irrevocable sentence, the awful and condemning words, when we would vainly excuse ourselves, "Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire, I know you not, ye are none of mine." Awful, truly awful indeed, will be such a declaration.

Let us then my friends in time bring forth fruits meet for repentance, for every sin we may have thoughtlessly or wilfully committed. Hear the declaration of the most patient man in the depth of his affliction: "When the ear heard me then it blessed me." The heart I would wish cheered by your present bounty is that of a widow, and a help'less, young and numerous family. She lost her husband soon after her arrival, she still had a son, he also

fell, she has a daughter x x x x As the subject of my discourse is one I have peculiar pleasure in ever bringing to your notice, I wish to shew further the blessing to be derived from it and how far your contributions this day may rescue an afflicted family from present and future poverty, and yet more and of greater and happier consequences, possibly miserable lives and untimely ends, I do not apprehend this would be the case with these poor people in particular, I trust in God it would not, nor ever will be. But too frequently do we hear of men driven by the desperation of their circumstances to desperate means with the destructive view of bettering them, and even wretched unhappy misguided females lost to virtue and respectability by the bribe of money to overcome momentary want, and in either case what is their inexpressibly miserable end—remorse and ignominy. And what does a cold and regardless world say of such victims? Vagabonds, they deserved their fate! True, their lives deserved to become a sacrifice for their crimes. The laws of Justice demanded it. But here let us pause and dispassionately reflect, might not the kind assistance of some generous soul to have stretched out their hand with relief at the critical moment of need severed destruction from them and saved them to the community as good and honest members of society? Now my friends may not Providence in His all wise dispensations make us this day by our exertions in behalf of this family, instruments for their welfare here, and glorious immortality hereafter. Can we have a stronger inducement to excite us? Let us be *this day at least*, to those poor helpless infants a kind indulgent father, and to the disconsolate widow'd mother as it were, a tender and affectionate husband, providing for her and her family's necessities. Let her grief if possible be soothed thro' your protection of herself and infants. Let their cry for bread (by your bounty) be no more heard, and if anything in the world can repay your heart with satisfaction and sacred joy, it would be to behold these little helpless innocents kneeling round and with their yet almost desponding mother with hearts and hands gratefully lifted to Heaven imploring the God of Mercies to shower blessings on you and yours, and whatever

you do, do it heartily to the Lord and not unto men, “knowing that of the Lord ye shall receive the reward of the inheritance for ye serve the Lord Christ.” Now to God the Father, etc.

[At the North end of St. Mark’s Church is a tablet with this inscription :—

“In memory of the Rev. Robert Addison, first missionary of this district, of the Venerable the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts. He commenced his labors in 1792, which by the blessing of Divine Providence he was enabled to continue for 37 years. Besides his stated services as minister of St. Mark’s in the town, he visited and officiated in different parts of this and adjoining districts until other missionaries arrived. He was born in Westmoreland, England, and died Oct. 6th, 1829, in the 75th year of his age. ‘Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God, whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation, Jesus Christ the same yesterday and to-day and forever.’ Heb. 13, 7, 8.”

This tablet was erected as a testimony of respect and affection by friends of the deceased.]

HISTORY OF Mrs. Jean Baptiste Rousseaux.

BY ALEXANDER SERVOS.

Margaret Kleine was born of German parentage in the year 1759, in the Mohawk Valley, now the State of New York, then a British colony. She was taken by the Indians, when a child about one year old, during the war with the Indians. The Indians killed her father by tying him to a tree and whipping him to death with the ramrods of their rifles. From the shock of witnessing such an awful death his wife fell dead. The young child was then taken, along with her sister who was then fourteen years old, by the Indians. On the loss of her mother she cried and was threatened with death by the exasperated Indians, and, in order to keep the child quiet Elizabeth filled her mouth with leaves so she could not make a noise. A short time after that Chief Joseph Brant seeing these two white children with the Indians, took them himself and brought them along with him to Niagara, and from there in due course of time they were taken to Brantford on the Grand River, where they lived with the Brant family until Margaret was fourteen years old. During this time Brant had discovered some of her near relatives, at or near Kingston. Mrs. Brant being unwilling to give up the young girl, Chief Brant arranged to let her go to her relatives. He fitted out a bark canoe with blankets and provisions, and the girl, canoe and outfit were conveyed across the country from Brantford to Burlington Bay at night by the Indians, and he directed her how to proceed by keeping along the shore of the lake, she being alone during all the voyage. At night she pulled the canoe on shore, made a fire and slept in her blankets. The time occupied in going that dis-

tance was sixteen or eighteen days. On reaching Kingston she had no difficulty in finding her relatives, Chief Brant having given her full particulars how to find them. She was well qualified to paddle a canoe, having been taught that art by the Indians through living so long with the Brant family.

On arriving at Kingston she found her relatives and lived with them until she married Jean Baptiste Rousseaux in 1785, who was a Frenchman, born and educated in Paris. He had gone to England and from there came to America with General Wolfe, and was with him at the taking of Quebec. After a short time he became intimately acquainted with Chief Joseph Brant and very quickly learned the Indian language and became proficient in speaking it, so much so that through the influence of Chief Brant he was appointed interpreter to the Indians, and held that position until his death in 1813. He died in the town of Niagara and was buried in St. Mark's cemetery.

After marriage Rousseaux and wife went to the village of Ancaster, a small village in the then Gore District, now the county of Wentworth, and kept a general store. About the year 1793 he built a grist mill in the village for grinding wheat for the farmers, and, for those days, did a large and thriving business, and acquired a good deal of wealth, besides large tracts of land throughout the country. Their family consisted of four daughters and two sons, namely: Elizabeth, who married

——— House of the county of Norfolk. Rainet married Elijah Secord, who afterwards kept a store in Ancaster, and finally settled in the township of Barton, where he and his brother, John, built the Albion mills. A number of their descendants are still living. Margaret married Thomas Davis, who settled in the township of Saltfleet, and left a large family, many of them still living. Catharine, or as she was called, Kate, the youngest daughter, married Daniel Kerr Servos of Niagara in 1816, who at that time belonged to the barrack department at Niagara, where he was employed from the close of the War of 1812-14 to 1818, in which war he served as private, corporal, sergeant and lieutenant, after which he removed to the head of the lake and purchased a farm, lots 3 and 4 in the township of Barton

county of Wentworth, where he resided until his death in 1857. His widow died in 1882. They raised a family of four daughters and three sons, besides two sons who died when quite young. The daughters were Margaret Ann, who married Matthew Brock Secord, both living to an old age, leaving many descendants. Elizabeth Gertrude, who married Alexander Rennie of Toronto, who had a large family, and died several years ago in Hamilton, where his widow now resides. Mary Eurette, who married Andrew M. Crooks, is now a widow living in Plainsville, New Jersey, Amelia Jane married Philip Perry, both dying in Buffalo, N.Y., William, the eldest son, married Margaret Crooks, Alexander, the writer of this short sketch, has been living at Niagara for the past forty-four years, and Ethelbert, who died three years ago in Hamilton. George Rousseaux, the eldest son, married Mary Rogers of Niagara and left a family of one son and five daughters, some of whom reside in Hamilton and others in Toronto. Joseph Brant, the youngest son, married Margaret Davis of the township of Barton.

Now we return to say what became of Elizabeth Kleine, the sister of Margaret. She lived with the Brant family for several years. Mrs. Brant, being a very passionate woman, Elizabeth ran away from them, assisted by Chief Brant in getting away. Meeting Daniel McCrimmon, a young Scotchman who lived near where the town of Cayuga is now situated, she married him and after a few years they settled on a farm in the township of Binbrook, county of Wentworth, where she lived to a very great age.

Daniel McCrimmon, about the year 1815 while on a hunting expedition got lost in the woods, and his remains were found along with his rifle, two years afterwards in a hollow tree, where he had climbed to protect himself from the wild animals. The remains were found there by some men who were hunting in the bush. It was proven by the rifle and knife that he carried and the steel and tinder box.

Historic Houses.

BY ALEXANDER SERVOS.

History of the George Field's Farm, on the River Road, Lot 15, Niagara Township.

In the year 1785 George Field, a U.E. Loyalist, came from the state of New Jersey, then a British colony, and settled on Lot 15, River Road, township of Niagara. He built a house in the village of Queenston, where he lived and carried on a blacksmith shop and wagon making business. He did not work himself at the trade but employed men to do the work while he would oversee the business. He placed his sons Gilbert, Nathan and Daniel on the farm which they succeeded in clearing up and cultivated successfully, earning a livelihood for the large family. About the year 1795 the father and sons built the brick house now standing on the said farm, opposite Mrs. George Durand's residence, River Road, which is part of the original Field farm.

During the War of 1812-14 there was a battery placed on what was then called Field's Point, just about where the Durand house now stands, and on the morning of the day of the Battle of Queenston, the Americans placed a battery on the opposite side of the river, opened fire and tried to silence the battery on Field's Point. While doing so they sent a cannon-ball through the roof of the brick house, (the Field house) which had at that time a very steep roof. When they repaired the house some years afterwards, they made the roof very much lower, as it is at the present time. While the Field family were taking breakfast on that morning, the Americans sent two more shots through the brick work of the house which caused the family to beat a hasty retreat and find shelter in some other quarter. The present owner and occupant of the house and farm, Mr. George Field,

now an old gentleman, is a grandson of George Field, who settled the property. His father was also named George Field.

George Field died in Queenston and was buried in the plot of ground now owned by Mr. ——— of Buffalo, N.Y., where there are a number of persons buried who were residents of the village and surrounding country. He had a large family, Hiram, Nathan, George, Daniel, James, Crysler, David, John, Ralph and one daughter, Rebecca, who married John Middaugh of the Ridge Road west of St. Davids, township of Niagara. The name was originally De la Filday, they being of Norman descent. George Field's father's name was Gilbert.

[In addition to the above it may be mentioned that in the possession of Mr. Geo. Field is a silver medal, which, from the following letter, must have been obtained through the intervention of Hon. Wm. Hamilton Merritt. On one side are the words "To the British Army 1793-1814" and on the other the Queen's head and the words "Victoria Regina 1848." The letter is as follows :

QUEBEC, 23rd AUG., 1852.

MR. GEO. FIELD,

Sir : It gives me much pleasure to be the means of presenting you with the enclosed medal as a reward for your gallant conduct in defending our common country, and I hope the day is not far distant when the same mark of distinction will be extended to your companions in arms, who, in other engagements were instrumental in successfully repelling the numerous invasions on the Niagara frontier as well as other parts of Canada during the campaign of 1812-14. It is my intention to present an address in a few days to attain that object. In the mean time I will thank you to acknowledge the receipt of this, hoping you may long live to wear it. I have the honor to remain your friend and servant,

WM. HAMILTON MERRITT.

In the grave yard now used by the Brown and Field families are many head-stones, one marking the grave of Daniel Field, who died 1873 aged 82 years, and Gilbert Field, who died 1815, aged 50. The dwelling is a large, dark-red brick house, originally three stories, with a high, pointed roof, but when partially burnt down

it became a two-story house with a much flatter roof. The family came from New Jersey in canoes and landed near this spot. It was the first brick house on the River Road and shows the solid work of those days, its walls being mostly six bricks thick. It was built by Gilbert Field. Mr. Murray Field, living in Niagara was born in this house, which was at one time used as a hospital. The spot is still pointed out where a soldier died at the head of the stair. The British officers were at one time quartered here and Mr. Murray Field is named from Col. Murray. Jas. McFarland and Daniel Field piloted the force over to Fort Niagara in December 1813. In the Niagara Historical Room is a copy of a paper read at a family gathering by Mr. Daniel Field on his 80th birthday, in which he mentions having fought at Queenston Heights, Lundy's Lane and at the capture of Fort Niagara, having been a prisoner there previously. The wife of Mr. Murray Field is the daughter of the late John McCarthy and their children can say that their grand parents fought on opposite sides at Queenston Heights, and at Chippewa they were prisoners on opposite sides.]

J. C.

History of the old white Grist Mill on the Four Mile Creek on lot 193 Township of Niagara,

In the year 1800, Benjamin Pickard of the Township of Niagara, in the County of Lincoln, built a grist mill on lot 193 on the Four Mile Creek, military reserve of the township of Niagara, said mill contained one run of stone which was brought from Eusopas, in the State of New York.

The ground wheat was carried to the top of the mill by the miller in a sack, and was poured in a cooler and from thence it ran down into the bolt for separating the flour, bran and shorts, there being in those days no elevators for carrying the meal to the top of the mill.

The machinery was all made of wood, the wheels and shafting, there was not an iron wheel in the whole mill. The mill is built of very heavy timber, all of the posts and beams are fourteen inches square as well as the sills. The girths, studding and

braces are all hewn out, not one piece of timber in the frame is sawn, the sills and posts are of white oak, and all the other timber is white wood.

During the war of 1812-14, when the Americans had possession of Fort George and Niagara, there were several skirmishes in or near the town, out at the Ball Farm and the Cross Roads, (now Virgil), the wounded all being taken to the mill which was used for a hospital for some length of time.

At this time the Americans went out from Fort George and were met by the militia who were lying in wait for them, but were too few in number to hold their own, and had to retreat farther into the country, and in order to do so quickly they threw over one hundred American muskets and bayonets which they had captured, into the mill pond, to prevent them from again falling into the hands of the Americans. The arms all sank into the mud and remain there until the present day.

In 1810 the mill became the property of Abraham Secord, and in 1815 the late Samuel Street became owner, who in 1818 sold it to the late Wm. S. Servos, and in 1859 it became the property of Alexander Servos, the writer of this short sketch. In 1893 he sold the property to Wm. Chaplin. The original owner Benjamin Pickard, was buried in the graveyard on the farm where there were a great many of the first settlers buried. After it became the property of Mr. Chaplin he caused all the old tombstones to be removed and ploughed the graveyard, levelling down the graves and cultivated it as the other land, many of the bodies had, however, been previously removed to St. Catharines cemetery. The mill still remains standing and is in a good state of repair.

An Historic House.

The Residence of Mr. James McFarland.

BY JESSIE MCKENZIE.

The following appeared in the Montreal Witness in 1893, being one of the stories written by the Schoolchildren of Canada in the prize competition instituted by that paper.

The house in which I live is situated on the banks of the beautiful Niagara River. It was built in 1800 and has witnessed many strange scenes, especially during the stirring times of 1812-14. As it was one of the largest and most comfortable houses of those times it was used as a hospital by both British and Americans, as each had possession of it. The hall was sometimes so filled with the dead and wounded that it was almost impossible to reach the upper story without treading on their bodies. A few yards to the north of the house is a ravine which was no doubt at that time covered with shrubbery, in which the boats were concealed which were intended to be used in the capture of Fort Niagara.

The fort was captured without the firing of a gun on Dec. 19th, 1813. Col. Murray came from Burlington to Niagara with portions of the 100th and 41st regiments, they did not cross at Niagara but about two miles up the river. My uncle who had been taken prisoner by the Americans, made his escape out of the fort early one morning, and walked up the river along the shore until he came to a house where he was well known. There, kind friends hid him in the cellar until nightfall when he crossed to his own country. Col. Murray hearing of his return, sent for him and he was appointed pilot of the expedition to take the fort. They embarked a little below the house, then went up the river for a short distance and landed on the opposite shore where two

pine trees now stand. It was ten at night when they started off, they walked down on the other side, killing the sentries with their bayonets as they went along so as not to alarm the garrison at the fort.

It was at the top of this same ravine in which the boats had been concealed that General Brock on his way from Fort George on the morning of Oct. 13th, 1812 to command at the battle of Queenston Heights spoke to my grandfather.

One day as my grandfather and great grandfather were at work in the field each with a pair of horses, three American dragoons rode up and tried to capture both men and horses ; but my two grandfathers each seizing a rail from the fence near at hand, soon put them to flight. However it was not long before they came back considerably reinforced. This time they seized the horses, took my great grandfather prisoner and carried him away to Greenbush, New York State, but my grandfather fortunately made his escape.

It has been reported that money was buried in the cellar, and it seems there was some foundation for the rumor, for my grandfather being in the cellar one day, noticed something bright where the rats had been scratching up some earth on the floor, and on picking it up it proved to be a gold Spanish coin, nearly twice as large as an English guinea. We have an old clock in the house now which tradition says was buried during the time of the war, but as this is a true story I cannot vouch for the truth of the "clock" story.

Another Description of the Same House.

BY CHARLES V. TAGGART.

The farm and homestead situated on the banks of the Niagara River about two miles south of the town of that name was purchased by my great great great grandfather from the crown and has remained in the family to the present day. The dwelling house was built in 1800 by my great great grandfather

and was used as a hospital during the war of 1812-14 by both British and Americans, as each had possession of the place. A little to the north is the ravine in which were concealed the boats which were used in the taking of Fort Niagara. On the bank behind the house a battery was built where three British soldiers were buried. During the war of 1812-14 the cellar was used to store the grain and my great grandfather on going down one day saw an officer helping himself without permission to the oats. He unceremoniously kicked him out, said officer was afterwards high in rank, who, I suppose, kept to the old adage, "Everything is fair in love and war." It was my great grand uncle who gave information which led to the taking of Fort Niagara, and who crossed Niagara River after being a prisoner in the American Fort, crossing on a raft, and led the British soldiers to the capture of the fort. My great great grandfather and his son were one day busy working in the fields when three soldiers tried to seize the horses, but my great great grandfather and son each seized a rail and put the soldiers to flight. They soon returned with a larger number and took them prisoners to Greenbush, N.Y. After his release he died from the exposure. After the war, when the family returned to their home they found the house greatly damaged, as neither doors, windows nor mantles were left remaining, also from the farm twenty one horses had been carried off.

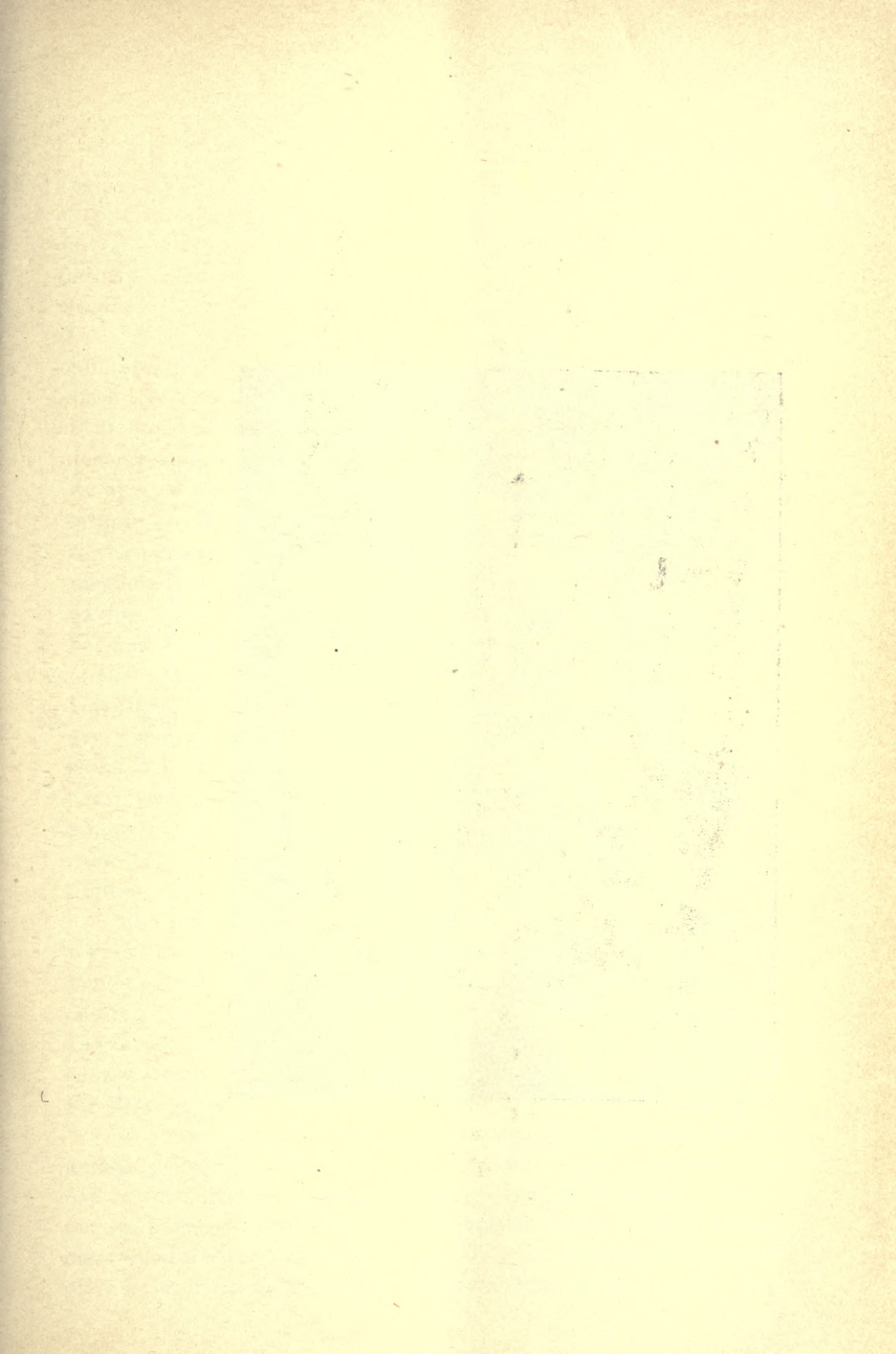
[On a tombstone in St. Mark's graveyard is the following inscription which must refer to that member of the McFarland family who was taken a prisoner to Greenbush and is said to have died from the effects of the exposure.

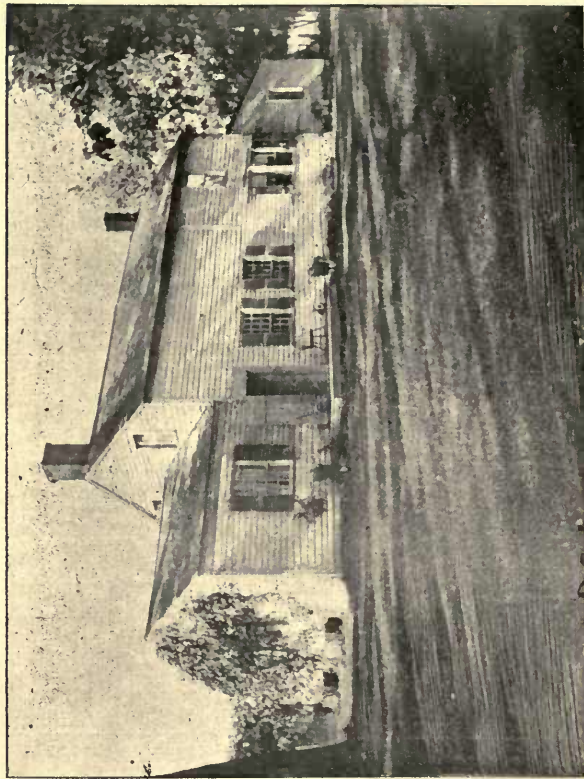
"Sacred to the memory of John McFarland, a native of Paisley, Scotland, he was taken prisoner at the capture of Fort George and escaped from Greenbush near the close of the war. He returned to his place, Niagara, and finding his property burnt up and destroyed by the enemy, it enervated him so much that he died in a few months after, in the 64th year of his age."

In the Historical Room, Niagara, are several documents framed, grants of land to or from Jno. McFarland, showing him to have been the possessor of many hundreds of acres in different parts of Upper Canada. The earliest document is one dated 1794.

Several of the grants are from Peter Russell, one for 600 acres ; another for 500 acres, one in 1799. The document of 1794 is made at Newark and is from Peter McFarland and Benaiah Gibb of Montreal, making John McFarland of Niagara their attorney for the Home District to collect all sums of money due. Another document shows the kindness of the eldest brother (and of course in those days the heir,) in giving his brother, from brotherly affection, a deed for 200 acres of land. Major Duncan McFarland who as a boy took part in the war of 1812, was an uncle of the present proprietor, who is a genial, hale and hearty octogenarian.]

J. C.





Residence of Mrs. Mary Servos, part of which
was used as a Government store
in 1783.

Palatine Hill.

BY JANET CARNOCHAN.

Perhaps the oldest house in Niagara Township is that owned by Mrs. Mary Servos, widow of Col. Peter Servos. A beautiful situation truly, the house built on an eminence commanding a view of the meandering Four Mile Creek running through an old beaver meadow, beautiful forest trees, immense pines, elms and maples having been left to add to the beauty of the scene. The house has had many additions but the large room with its heavy rafters of the olden time dates back to 1783 and was at one time a Government store. Two old account books from 1784 to 1779 give many curious particulars of the sale of flour, wheat, elk skins, bear skins, etc. A saw and grist mill did good service here. In different Government records we find that the Home Government sent machinery to help, and from many miles distant came early settlers to have their grain ground. A few submerged timbers show the spot still.

The Servos family were of Prussian origin, a parchment preserved by some members of the family, and signed by Prince William, of Weid, dated 1726, witnesses that Christopher Servos entered military service in 1687, serving honorably for forty years, and recommending him to the Governor of New York. Some of the sons were present at the siege of Fort Niagara, in 1759, under Sir Wm. Johnson, and the grandsons served in Butler's Rangers.

The old account books are exceedingly interesting, for the names, prices, articles sold. On the first page is an index very neatly done, giving names and pages. It must have been an extensive business involving large interests, as the sums of money mentioned are very large, all in L.S.D. The oldest book is a little private account of Daniel Servos from 1779 to Dec. 12th, 1804.

The prices are interesting, as 43 panes of glass 3£, 5s, 6d, one bottle of rum 4/, 9 logs, sawing, at 5s—2£ 5s; 30 lbs. flour, 1£ 13s. In the year 1784, Messrs. Street and Butler are charged with flour and grain bags, the lumber at 8£ per thousand, 100 lbs flour to Mrs. Frey, £3; Captain Bernard Frey, a bushel of bran 4s; Mr. Jno Clement in 1785 paid £1 os 7d for three pecks of salt; Mr. Jesse Pawling bought tea at 12s per lb. Capt. Peter Ten Brock bought deer skins at 5s each; Mr. Isaac Vrooman bought wheat at 8s per bushel; Mr. Sam Street is charged with elk skins at 14s each, 6 bear skins 20s each, 3 martin 5s each. Capt. Ralph Clench has a large blacksmith bill in 1790. In 1784 a mare is charged £12. A record on one page of 2494 barrels of potash in Oct. 1799. In 1800 one quart rum 5s; half bushel salt 8s; half pound tobacco, 2s 6d; sawing 40 logs £4; two yards striped cotton 8s.

Many old deeds, commissions on parchments are preserved, four generations of the name having served in different capacities as ensign, lieutenant, captain, colonel, the oldest dated 24th Dec. 1779, from Haldimand to Daniel Servos, gentleman, to be Lieutenant in Col. Johnson's corps of North American Indians. In 1788 from Guy Lord Dorchester, to be Captain of first regiment of Militia in District of Nassan. The pay roll of Capt. Dan. Servos has 31 names in 1794 and others are dated 1802, 1809, 1815; in 1827, John D. Servos was Lieut.-Col. Another paper gives the names of those who went to York commanded by J. D. Servos, 1813, from 6th July to 10th July.

Near the house is an old barn built in 1803, in which American dragoons were quartered for a time. In the old mill is an ammunition box left by Americans at the retreat from Stoney Creek, with letters U.S. No. 1, 6 lb. It is about eight feet long and two feet wide. All sorts of articles have been banished to this place: An old saddle used by the grandmother Frey, (wife of Capt. Barnard Frey (who was killed in 1813 by a cannon ball from Fort Niagara) when she swam across the Susquehanna River, when chased by Indians while carrying despatches. The timbers are of white oak 14 and 16 inches square. There have been three mills, the second was burnt in 1822, a few of the timbers were

used in the present building and are blackened with smoke.

In the house are all sorts of relics : A tea caddy brought from Switzerland with date 1778 belonged to Philip Frey, Surveyor, is now a receptacle for buttons of Butler's Rangers, King's 8th, etc., so dear to the heart of the collector. A shell snuff box with silver cover has the inscription "Token of Gratitude from Wm² Claus to Mrs. Eliz. Servos, Niagara, 1801." One room is quite full of such historic relics, swords, sashes, immense seals, wallets, etc., enough to stock an ordinary museum. Various articles of value, as silver spoons, a silver teapot, were buried for safety, some of them three times. A document dated Newark 1794, of survey made for Col. John Butler, has the names Ball, Secord and others; the Servos farm had then 394 acres.

In the Servos graveyard on the farm are buried four generations. One inscription reads "Sacred to the memory of Elizabeth Johnson, who died 8th Nov., 1811, aged 104 and recalls the fact that her husband Col. Johnson was buried in the chapel of Fort Niagara 1759, with Gen. Prideaux, and that, though many attempts have been made to discover the site of this chapel where two British officers were buried, hitherto they have been without avail. Elizabeth Servos, her daughter, died 1821, aged 72, and Daniel Servos, husband to above, died March 1808, aged 65. There are tombstones to six of the name of Whitmore : Magdalene, in 1854, must have been the little Magdalene Servos, who saw the murder of her grandfather in 1777 in his own house by Revolutionary soldiers, the little child of three was left with relatives till her father, Captain Daniel Servos, went from Niagara on horseback and brought her home. The late wife of our poet, Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C., Eliza Whitmore, was her daughter.

One grave is that of an Indian. A black man who had been an old slave, was in the family for many years, called Bob Jupiter.

In St. Mark's record book is an item which relates to this burying ground, running thus, "On the day on which the engagement between Sir Jas. Yeo and Commodore Chauncey took place on the lake, our dear friend Mrs. McNabb was buried in Mr. Servos's burying place, supposed to be the 29th Sept, 1813." (Should be 28th Sept.)

The information on which these imperfect notes is dated was gleaned from various sources, Mrs. Mary Servos having courteously shewn many articles of interest in this historic home. Her father was Capt, John C. Ball, who fought at Queenston Heights, having in charge the cannon there, and in the family record are the names of Frey and Showers, all found in the first census taken in Niagara by Col John Butler in 1782, and again in 1783. In many other houses in the town and township where descendants of the Christopher Servos who came in 1726 reside, may be found precious heir looms from which, if the history were told, ample material could be obtained for several interesting pamphlets. Stories of pioneer life, of valuable relics, of adventures among the Indians, of escaped slaves, of assemblies at Navy Hall, stories, which if not soon gathered up will soon be only a memory ever growing fainter and fainter. It is hoped that there may not be lacking those who have sufficient love for their country to make continuous efforts to glean while it may yet be done, the tales of our not ignoble past.

The Evolution of an Historic Room.

BY JANET CARNOCHAN.

Numerous requests having been made for some account of the evolution of what may, for lack of a better name, be called our Historical Room, an attempt is now made to satisfy these demands. In December 1895, in answer to a notice in our local paper, a few persons met in the Public Library room and an Historical Society was formed. In March 1896 the library having obtained a new and more accessible building, the town council kindly allowed us the use of this room, which had already some pretensions to being called historic, as it had been in past time the grand-jury room for the court house for the united counties of Lincoln, Welland and Haldimand and has no doubt witnessed many sad and stirring scenes since 1848.

Locus, then a long narrow room, 12x40, empty, except for a large box stove and chandeliers left as a legacy by the library. Much cold water had metaphorically been thrown upon the project of collecting articles relating to the history of the town and neighborhood. It was said nothing had been left, everything had been given away or destroyed, or did any such articles exist, no one would either give or lend anything for such purpose. All such prognostications have proved false. With very little outlay, for we began with an empty treasury, (cases have been given, picture frames, chairs, tables, etc.), a collection of about one thousand articles, some of them very valuable, has been brought together and entered on the books of our curator. Visitors have enrolled their names from different cities,—from Winnipeg to New York, from Ottawa to Wellington, New Zealand.

Many of the articles have a story attached and it is the object of this paper to give some slight account of the most remark-

able of these. Perhaps the most interesting feature in the room is the collection of pictures of the town hanging on the walls dating from 1794, 1806, 1813, 1836, 1846 ; also documents, commissions in old fashioned frames, the latter all contributed from garrets and lumber rooms, and, while not appropriate to the parlor, are quite suitable for these ancient documents. There are now almost one hundred of these hanging on the walls of our room. The first article put into our hands was a large medal, rather battered and discolored but still in good preservation, particularly interesting at this jubilee time, the inscription being "In commemoration of the visit of Queen Victoria to the city of London, 9th November 1837", on the other side the Queen's youthful profile of sixty years ago. To a Londoner the date would explain the *raison d'etre*, but to us the recent reading of Hall Caine's *Christian* with its reference to 9th November, Lord Mayor's day afforded an explanation. The medal was found near Fort Missisagaua and presented by Master Hamilton Garrett. A large heavy key with brass tag attached with words stamped "Tower Magazine", in being shown to visitors is always said to represent the "power of the press," a well deserved name. When in beginning our collection a large case was kindly presented, a notice was inserted in our local paper that now articles presented could be safely preserved. In a few days this key was sent by post all the way from Wisconsin, the owner having picked it up when the fort was deserted and lying open ; taken to Wisconsin and now restored by mail in answer to our appeal, by this loyal son of the old borough. Our local paper travels to many distant spots and this has been truly shown to represent the "power of the press."

A sword hints a tale of the "cold steel" encounter when the legend tells us the cry was "What is trumps" and the answer "British bayonets." When Fort Niagara was taken 19th December 1813, while Niagara town was a smoking ruin, this sword was handed to Col. Murray by the American officer in charge. The christening bowl used by Rev. Robert Addison who came here in 1792 shows long use, but still the bunch of pink flowers on each side may be plainly seen and this brings to mind St Mark's

register with the quaint remarks inserted at baptism, wedding or funeral by its first rector, who sometimes, from that vast parish reaching from Niagara to Long Point, baptized dozens, nay scores, using this simple china bowl.

A pocket book gives us a pathetic reminder of the day Niagara was taken, 27th May, 1813. On a tablet at the north door of St. Mark's is an inscription to the memory of four heroes who were killed while defending the town, the first name being Capt. Martin McClelland, and here is the name in his own hand in this pocket book, Dec. 1812. It was thought at first that the purse was found on the dead body, but a different explanation is now given, no less pathetic and striking: the captain went to Virgil where his wife then was, to bid her good-bye, having a presentiment that the morrow would be his last day on earth, an engagement being expected, the American force having anchored in sight of the town. To the wife were given the pocket-book and watch and the presentiment proved true, for in spiking the guns while retreating the fog lifted and he was slain.

But perhaps the article which attracts the most attention is the cocked hat of General Brock with white ostrich plumes, red and white cockade and gold plated chain. Since like George Washington, we cannot tell a lie, it must be confessed that General Brock never wore the hat as when it arrived for him from England he lay in a hero's grave in Fort George. A letter is in existence written by him to his brother "All the articles I ordered have arrived except the cocked hat for which I am sorry, as on account of the enormous size of my head I find it difficult to obtain a hat to suit me." The ladies of the Historical Society, Toronto, wrote to have it measured inside, and the result quite justified the use of the descriptive adjective as the measurement was twenty-five inches. A military order of 1811 that the ostrich plumes be inside the flaps, and another in 1814 repealing this order justify the position of the trimming. The hat was used at the different funerals, being placed on the coffin in 1824 and again in 1855 when many old soldiers asked permission to try it on.

Here is the Upper Canada Gazette 1794, Newark, published

by Roy and a later one by Sylvester Tiffany with curious advertisements and vistas opened up into the life of a hundred years ago when gay assemblies, and French Counts, and American Commissioners, Governor Simcoe himself, and his secretary, that remarkable and inexplicable man, Col. Talbot, danced with Niagara belles.

Two documents show the heads of families and number in the family of the congregations of St. Andrew's and St. Mark's, the first being a parchment petition to the Queen in 1842 complaining that they had not received their share of the Clergy Reserve Fund. Of all the autographs found here not one is that of a living person. The Census Enumerator's report of the families of St. Mark's in 1848 gives a total of 1060 people exclusive of the military in barracks, or the country people.

The commissions of Robert Nelles, an officer in the Lincoln Militia, from 1788 to 1813 as successively lieutenant, captain, lieutenant-colonel, colonel, show the signatures of Lord Dorchester, Gore, Sir Peregrine Maitland, Lord Colborne and Col. Butler.

What story is hinted at in the coat of arms and parchment containing the freedom of the burgh of Dumbarton and another that of Paisley to John Hamilton for good deeds done and *to be done*, dated 1748. How little thought the giver or the receiver that we in this distant land should now be wondering what those good deeds could have been and what mean those mysterious words *to be done*. Could those canny Scots have thus been stipulating that no future reward was to be given for any further devotion to duty?

Here is a "tump line" one hundred years old, skilfully decorated with porcupine quill work, which had been used by some Indian woman to fasten her silent, solemn-eyed papoose and carry it on her back or perchance to carry a heavier load of food or game. And here are articles which show how our grandmothers followed the description in Proverbs, "She seeketh wool and flax and worketh willingly with her hands, she layeth her hand to the spindle and her hands hold the distaff," a large wheel, a small wheel, reel, carders, hackles. A number of these last show that raising flax must have been an industry here, as in one barn were

found five. One hackle is old, having been brought in 1784 by the family of one of Butler's Rangers.

Numerous documents, now framed, recall stirring times as the proclamation of Wm. Lyon McKenzie from Navy Island 1837. Among other names may be seen that of Samuel Lount, so ruthlessly executed. Another proclamation of a reward of \$500 for the capture of James Morreau, a rebel, evidently a Frenchman, and on inquiry we learn that he was actually hanged at Niagara jail and a record in the Roman Catholic register gives the fact that he was baptized provisionally, he not knowing whether this had been done before.

Some curious old books and pamphlets give interesting glimpses of early life in Canada. A book containing letters to Archdeacon McGrath, Dublin, has engravings by the novelist Samuel Lover, showing the log house of 1832, the bear hunts and fishing expeditions. One item referring to the scarcity of drug stores says that "one woman in Niagara compounds medicines and puddings with equal confidence, but not with equal skill." The formidable speech of Bishop Strachan on the Clergy Reserve question recalls the memory of that vigorous ecclesiastical statesman who gave and received such mighty blows, and who was so vigorously denounced by Robert Gourlay, who lay at one time a prisoner in Niagara jail, a picture of which now hangs on the wall, a contrast to its present appearance as "Our Western Home." A scrip of Pennsylvania in 1773 for four shillings, recalls the time when that state was a British colony, and a curious deed of land has on it the coat of arms of the Canada Company in the Huron tract. A Mavor's spelling book printed in Niagara in 1824 gives some astonishing statements, but this is far eclipsed as a school book by the Agricultural Reader by a vice-president of the Agricultural society, since learned to have been Bishop Fuller. Whether the pupils of any school were ever condemned to use this book is not known, but in the interest of humanity it is hoped not, as the book consists of disquisitions on mangel wurzel, manures, sheep-raising, soils, etc., actual'y, however, enlivened by two lessons in verse, one stanza of which we cannot refrain from quoting, called "The Farmers' Fair."

“Bring heifers, steers and stately calves,
Let bulls and goats be there,
Bring natives, long horns, short horns, no horns,
All to the The Farmers’ Fair.”

Three sermons preached by ministers of the town in war time, will compare favorably with sermons of the present day, one during the War of 1812 by Rev. John Burns, the others in the Rebellion of 1837 by Rev R. McGill and Rev. T. Creen, The manuscript of a fourth is now in the possession of the Society and appears in this pamphlet, that of the first minister of St. Mark’s sent-out in 1792, by S.P.G. Rev. R. Addison. “Brothers of the craft” are all interested in the old Masonic apron, hand-painted on silk. It is not known how old or whether done here or in Scotland.

A heavy, leather-covered book, the inside pages yellow and water-stained, tells the story of the Niagara Library from 1800 to 1820. As the library fell into the hands of Mr. Heron, a book-seller, and who kept a lending library, the books must be scattered over the country, but for a long time no glimpse could be obtained of any of those books, though the library numbered 1000 volumes. But another strange coincidence throws a ray of light. In asking information from an old lady, who as a child was at the second funeral of Brock in 1824, she had the previous day received a card inquiring about the Niagara library of 1800, as the writer had a book snatched from the flames in 1813. Since then a book has been sent to the collection with the label “Niagara Library 1801, Number 81” and corresponding with the catalogue number 81.

Here are pictures of a few who have been connected with the history of the town, General Sir Isaac Brock, Col. Butler, Laura Secord, Sir Wm. Johnson, Capt. Thos. Dick, Samuel Zimmerman and here is a sweet faced old lady, the daughter of a heroine who on the day when 6000 men menaced our town, encouraged the soldiers by serving out coffee and refreshments. The wife of the lighthouse keeper, Dominick Henry, it is mentioned in a pamphlet of the Loyal and Patriotic Society, was voted £25 as

an acknowledgment of her services. The delight of her granddaughter in being sent the extract relating to her grandmother, Mrs. Quade, is one of the compensations for the labor of these investigations. A picture of a log house built in 1814, is a contrast to the modern dwellings.

A friend in presenting some articles said, "I give you this as seed, some one will see it and say 'I have something like that at home which I will bring you'," and within a week this was twice verified. On seeing a few wampum beads from an ossuary, a visitor said, "My wife has a wampum necklace, given when her grandfather was made a chief, which she may lend you," and so another contribution came. On seeing an iron tomahawk, a gentleman said, "Yesterday something exactly similar was ploughed up, which I will bring, as I now know what it is," and so one contribution leads to another.

A late contribution is a collection in a large picture frame, which may be said to be a complete history of the military occupation of the Niagara Peninsula, being about two hundred military buttons of different regiments, British, United States, Canadian, picked up at Fort George, all neatly labelled. In the centre a belt buckle, 49, recalls the regiment of the noble Brock, "The Green Tigers."

Nor is the list still exhausted, a Labrador seal skin coat from the Northwest Rebellion and the scarlet coat of a captain in the War of 1812 form a striking contrast. Indian pipes with beautifully worked stems, hammer stones, household utensils of other days, waffle irons, warming pans, snuffers, tell a page of forgotten history to the children of the present day. A battle-axe from an Ayrshire bog, and a perfect trilobite from England, with some beautifully polished flint arrow heads of early British workmanship show that not alone is this continent under tribute. Gleaner newspapers, old letters, seals, all speak to us of the past.

Among the strange coincidences in life which give color to the saying that truth is stranger than fiction the following may be recorded: A letter received from Mr. Eakin, the librarian of Osgoode Hall, asked information about the ten members of the law society founded in 1797, of one particularly could nothing be

gleaned, W. D. Powell, jr., of Queenston. Just that day our secretary, Mr. Alfred Ball, brought in a letter belonging to his wife, a granddaughter of Robert Nelles of Grimsby, and which proved to be a letter from W. D. Powell himself, and gives a glimpse of a romantic runaway match. The letter is addressed to Robert Nelles, 40 Mile Creek.

QUEENSTON, 28th JULY, 1802.

DEAR SIR :— I should be unpardonable if I lost any time returning the hearty thanks which are so justly due from me to you for your kind and friendly assistance in rendering me one of the most happy of men. After leaving your house on Friday night we had an uncommonly fatiguing ride to Runchey's and arrived at Niagara on the following morning, where, by Mr. Addison's assistance, we were soon out of the fear of pursuit. Mrs. Powell joins with me in her professions of gratitude to yourself and Mrs. Nelles, and requests that you will take the trouble of apprising her sister, Ellen, of her love and obligations to her for the part she took in forwarding our escape.

Believe me dear sir, your obliged and obedient servant,
W. D. POWELL, JR.

Another interesting document is the subscription list of the children of St. Mark's to procure a chair for the old clerk, to whom we find an inscription in the graveyard, John Wray, who had been clerk of the church for fifty years and died in 1846. This is the quaint heading to the list : "Whereas the old clerk has returned to town and expects to occupy his place in the church, so long as he lives and is able to attend Divine service, it has been observed that his seat on a stool is not easy nor suitable for him, and an easy chair has been thought of. This has been made to order and will be an appropriate present to honorable age from the young as a mark of respect for his grey hairs and long services." The list of youthful contributors will be carefully preserved among the records of St. Mark's Church. Niagara, Sept. 20th 1844. The cost is £1 15s currency. The surplus for Sunday School books." Of the thirty-seven names signed here there are now, after fifty-five years, only eight living. The sums signed are from 7½d to 2s 6d, the whole sum contributed being £3 5s. The

receipt of the maker of the chair, John Andrews, is on the back of the paper. Such well known names as Boulton, Dickson, Ball Creen, Melville, Campbell, McCormick, Hall, Willson occur. Mr. Wray is described by an old lady, an octogenarian, as a little old man. The chair is low, and may be seen in the choir, having been lately freshly upholstered.

An oil painting of Col. Jno. Butler has a curious history: painted in Niagara in 1834 from the original oil painting (which is now in Ottawa) by Henry Oakley, the son of the Baptist minister, it has after being in Bronte for sixty years now come back to Niagara. The vane on the steeple of St. Andrew's Church, put on in 1831, and bent in the tornado of 1855, the figure of an angel blowing a trumpet, called often the "Angel Gabriel," after lying in a barn for over forty years has here a resting place.

The collecting and arranging of so large a number of articles in so short a time has not been accomplished without much labor and we have to acknowledge the liberal contributions of Messrs. Charles Ball, Alexander Servos. Alfred Ball, Miss Creen, Miss Crouch and many others. A short historical article has appeared in the Niagara "Times" each week and the acknowledgment of all articles contributed, and this perhaps has helped somewhat. The distribution of the yearly reports with partial catalogue, and now a complete to-date catalogue of twelve pages, has been printed for us by the kindness of Mr. John Ross Robertson, who has taken much kindly interest in our work, the publication of our pamphlets Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, all these have no doubt helped in the evolution of our room. We should not have been able to print so many pamphlets had it not been for a grant for printing purposes from the Ontario Government.

The tea caddy of Laura Secord, a curiosity in itself, even had it not been the property of such a heroine, came by post from Winnipeg, loaned by the grand daughter of Laura Secord herself. Copies of the Canadian Punch, 1848-9, give curious glimpses of the feeling to Lord Elgin. The Gleaner for 1832-3 and six months of the first year 1817-18, Gidding's Almanac for 1831 giving all the evidence of the trial at Lockport of those concerned in the abduction of Morgan, give us curious reading now.

A pencil outline by General Seaton Gordon, with watermark 1822, of buildings then, 1824, at Fort Mississagua was found by the son while examining his father's papers, and was sent to Mr. Winnett of Queen's Hotel, and thus our collection increases.

A powder horn with Indian hieroglyphics, formerly the property of Chief Brant, Thayendanegea, having been presented to Jean Baptiste Rousseaux, Indian interpreter, is now the property of Mr. Alexander Servos, the writer of the life of Mrs. Jean Baptiste Rousseaux in this pamphlet. Two silhouettes framed give us the faces of two U.E. Loyalists, Hannah Ball and John Secord. A plate with bright scarlet flowers, was formerly owned by Mrs. Law, whose husband was killed at Queenston. She is described by a lady who remembers her, becoming excited when talking of the war as taking snuff and sneezing and crying in succession. A buckle with Scotch thistles and the figures 93 tells of the time when that famous regiment marched proudly through the streets, with philabegs and tartans and the bagpipes followed by the ubiquitous small boy.

The value of such a room has already been shewn as numerous letters have been received asking information to be found in our old newspaper files. One great want is an isolated building fire proof, on the ground floor, but whether this great object of our ambition will be attained is an unknown quantity. We have petitioned the Ontario Government to give a grant to erect a monument at the landing place of the United Empire Loyalists here, and have suggested that this memorial should take the form of a building to contain the collection of our society, the names of the Loyalists to be placed on the walls. A circular has also been sent out to descendants of U.E. Loyalists asking advice and assistance in this direction.

Some may be disposed to smile at a collection of this kind and underrate its value, but Mr. David Boyle our Provincial Archaeologist who has given us much valuable advice and assistance, who has done such noble service in the evolution of the Archaeological Museum, Toronto, who has devoted days and nights, nay, years of his life to this object, whose influence has brought flowing into his collection from all parts of the world such valuable addi-

tions, whose admirable reports, appreciated first in Britain and the United States have now at last convinced Canadians of the value of their archaeologist, Mr. Boyle in a paper read on 17th Sept. at the anniversary of the Society used these words, "For local history purposes there is nothing superior to the local museum. Wherever there is a good library there should be a good museum ; one without the other is incomplete, it should supplement the library and be supported by the country as well as the library. Object teaching is the oldest kind of teaching, and every object should illustrate a point, enforce some statement, or elucidate something otherwise obscure."



Since writing the above, the old account book of a family living on the banks of the Niagara River has been presented, dating from 1806, one page of which may be reproduced here. In reading of the War we often meet with accounts of property destroyed, sometimes by the enemy, sometimes by our own troops to prevent it falling into the hands of the invaders. Claims were afterwards made of war losses, some of which were paid, in part, after tedious delay, for some no compensation was received. In many cases claims were bought up for a small sum from those in dire need. The amounts claimed as damages seem large but we must remember that prices in war time ran enormously high. The following is the list :

Statement of property lost and destroyed by the army since the commencement of the war from 1812 to 1815:—

One piece of broadcloth, 30 yds. at 40s.....	£ 60
12 blankets, at 2£ 5s per blanket,.....	27
Clothing, three fine coats, one Surtoul coat.....	20
Family clothing.	50
Seventeen hogs.....	34
Two day books, containing accounts,.....	150
Taken out of the shop in 1813.....	40
One house burned, estimated at.....	800
One kitchen, estimated at.....	200
Furniture of the house.....	500
One barn with hay and forage.....	150
One sleigh, plough, horse and two barrels of salt....	40
Eight acres of wheat, estimated at 150 bushels.....	93 15
Garden and orchard and other damage in the place..	100
In the blacksmithshop, part of two sets of tools with one and a half tons of steel and iron.....	450
400 barrels of coke coal, at 5s per barrel.....	100
Lost on upper farm in hay and grain.....	50
One set of books supposed to contain accounts to amount of.....	800
One set of harness for two horses, one saddle and two bridles.....	20
52 days of captain's pay and other acc'ts. passed the Board of Claims and burned in Mr. Crook's office	33

The total amount reached almost £4,000, and the old leather bound book with its contents brings up the names of many of those early pioneers who did and dared and suffered so much to keep their heritage as British soil, a heritage which we now enjoy.

FIFTH ANNUAL REPORT

—OF THE—

Niagara Historical Society.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS READ OCT. 20, 1900.

THE day of our Annual Meeting in the last year of the century has dawned upon us and we meet again to review the work of the year. If we have not gained all that we hoped, still we feel that something has been accomplished since we last met. Our numbers, though still far from numerous, have been increased by several resident and several non-resident members. A delegate attended the meeting of the Ontario Historical Society, at Hamilton, in June and again in Toronto a paper being contributed, "Graves of the Niagara Peninsula," by your President. A delegate was appointed to attend the meeting of the Royal Society in Ottawa and another year we hope that our Society may be there represented.

As regards both printing and our Historical collection we feel that progress has been made. Another pamphlet has been sent out, No. 6, being a reprint of articles asked for, "The Niagara Library of 1800, and Early Schools of Niagara," the object being to put in an accessible form everything pertaining to the history of the town. Another pamphlet, No. 7, a continuation of Historic houses begun in No. 5, is now almost ready for distribution. I have to report that 245 copies of our pamphlets have this year been distributed to Members, Historical Societies, and others interested; of these, copies were sold to the value of \$11.85. We exchange publications with twelve societies. Three hundred articles have been added during the year making nearly fifteen hundred articles. Over three hundred visitors have enrolled their names, many of them from distant cities. Visits have been paid by different Societies, Schools, Clubs and Pilgrimage parties.

But our chief work this year has been the collecting of pictures of early settlers, whether U. E. Loyalists, Military heroes or those who either as men or women in anyway helped to make our town or country. So far, from miniatures, oil paintings, water colors, ambrotypes, silhouettes, we have had copies photographed to the number of over thirty during the year which will form a valuable addition to our collection. In the list are found the well-known names of Secord, Servos, Ball, Clement, Field, Clench, Whitmore, Ten Broek, Cooper and many others.

We have applied for cannon to be placed in this Historic town. These have been promised and we hope that in the not distant future our endeavors in this direction will be crowned with success. The Historical column in THE TIMES has been continued with more or less regularity. The Provincial Grant has been received as also that from the County.

Eight regular meetings were held, one of these being open to the public, when an interesting paper was read, contributed by Rev. Canon Bull, the President of the Lundy's Lane Historical Society, on the Pioneer Missionaries of the Niagara Peninsula.

But there is a duty to be performed which we acknowledge

should have been undertaken long ere this—to mark Historic spots which are fast fading from recollection; such spots as the first burial place of Gen. Brock at Fort George, the site of Navy Hall, THE GLEANER printing office, Masonic Hall, Military Hospital and Indian Council House, the spot where many fell on the 27th of May, 1813 in defence of their country, Count de Puisaye's house, and this we hope to do this year. No further steps have been taken with regard to a monument to the landing of the U.E. Loyalists here, or to the erection of a suitable room for our collection, which we feel to be an imperative duty as if a better room were provided many valuable articles would be contributed.

We have material for another pamphlet and feel that there is much unexplored territory still to be investigated and would call upon all to help with information, documents, relics etc. We desire to place on record our gratitude to those who have so generously helped us by contributions to our room, by giving information, or by kind and encouraging words. We are fortunate in having a faithful Secretary and a careful Treasurer, and to all who have helped in any way we return our grateful thanks. When we remember that less than five years ago we began work amidst many discouraging words, we feel that we have every reason to be encouraged and to hope for greater results in the future.

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

Ducit Amor Patriae.

OFFICERS 1900-1901.

Patron—WM. KIRBY, F. R. S. C.
 President—MISS CARNOCHAN.
 Vice-President—HENRY PAFFARD.
 Secretary—ALFRED BALL.
 Treasurer—MRS. A. SERVOS.
 Curator—RUSSELL WILKINSON.

COMMITTEE.

REV. J. C. GARRETT,
 REV. N. SMITH.
 W. W. IRELAND B.A.
 CHAS. HUNTER.
 MRS. T. F. BEST.

HON. VICE PRESIDENTS

MRS. ROE,
 CHAS. F. BALL.
 MRS. CLEMENT.

HONORARY MEMBERS.

DR. SCADDING,	REV. CANON BULL,
L'T. COL CRUIKSHANK,	JOHN ROSS ROBERTSON,
WM. GIBSON,	DAVID BOYLE,
SIR JAS. LEMOINE,	MAJOR HISCOTT,
DR. JESSOP, M.P.P.,	E. A. LANCASTER, M. P.

CATALOGUE CONTINUED FROM 1899.

Framed portrait of Hon. John Hamilton, 1800—1882; Photograph copied from miniature of Hon. Robt. Hamilton, who died at Queenston, 1809, given by Judge Hamilton, Milton; photograph of sampler worked in 1813 by Mrs. G. F. Denison, with

words, "Push On, York Volunteers, R. E. Denison; Original letter from Bishop of Quebec to Archbishop of York, U. C., dated 1829, by Rev. Robt. Ker, Rector of St. George's, St. Catharines; White kid gloves given to His Honor, Judge Campbell, Nov. 1850, "No criminal cases", Full dress spurs worn by Fort Major Campbell, Original letters relating to war losses at Niagara, 1814—1825, Fragment of mirror steamer Arabian, Miss Campbell, Toronto; Candle stick and oil painting loaned by Mrs. Jos. Clement; Large photograph of Col. John Butler copied from oil painting in possession of his grandson, Photograph of Mrs. Stevenson, a resident of Niagara since 1816 by Mrs. Richards, Pembroke; Printed bill with order of funeral procession at laying foundation stone of Brock's monument, 13th Oct. 1853 by Mrs. E. Secord; Curious old pipe owned by Indian Chief, Big Bear, 1885, by Robt Allen; Tinder box with flints, ewer of Davenport delf, old bonnet, pan rest, tin for making sausages, pan for hot coals, veil by C. F. Ball; Iron grating of condemned cell of late Jail and Courthouse built 1817 by Alphaeus Cox; Description of remarkable Indian pipe, by W. J. Wintenburg; Poster issued in 1858 when forming 100th (Canadian) Regt., copy of petition sent in 1897 asking for re-patriation of 100th Reg't., Two magazines published by 100th Reg't, Halifax, Capt. Dickinson, Halifax; Quadrant used on steamer "J. L. Colby" the first whaleback on the Atlantic Ocean by Mr. C. D. Secord, Buffalo; Photo of inscription on tablet to Mrs. McMurray, Mrs. J. C. Garrett; Framed portrait of Hon. Wm. Hamilton Merritt, 1793-1862, J. P. Merritt, St. Catharines; Indian stone hatchet, two flint arrowheads from Stoney Creek by Jas. Robinson, jr.; Parchment deed of land in Kent, England 1649, Conversation cards 1818, French Grammar, 1809, Cook book 1830 by Mrs. Keating, St. Catharines; Atlas maps dated 1805—1811 by Alfred Ball; Bead trimming from coat of Louis Reil 1885 by Pirie Blain St. Catharines; Annual Register 1759 with signature of Ralph Clench, Fragment of shell of 1812 by Hugh Watt; Paper issued at Caledonia Springs 1846, Standing orders for 2nd York Reg't. Portsea Barracks, 1799, 1813. View of Fort Garry, Letter in Choc-taw 1855 by R. Wilkinson; New York Albion, bound volume 1841, Edward Wooten; Small framed picture of Father Matthew. by Mrs. Hartley; Two one dollar bills, Colonial bank 1858 by Leeming Servos; MS sermon of Rev. Thos. Creen, Niagara by Miss Creen; MS sermon of Rev. Chas. Campbell, Niagara by Chas. Campbell, Toronto; Crayon drawing of Duke of Wellington done by Miss Mary Servos, Photos of Tecumseh, and old residents of town by Mrs. Clement; Pay list 1841, Erie & Ontario Ry. Co. (horse railway), By-law of Niagara Town Council 1851 by Mrs. D. Servos; Reminiscences of Mrs. Quade, daughter of Dominick Henry, Wooden peg from French Barracks, Fort Niagara, built 1758, Original letter to Mrs. Mary Henry, care of Mr. Crooks, Fort George, U. C. 1820, Miss Quade, Ramsonville; Photograph of Abigail Becker, the Long Point heroine with signature. Photograph taken at Queenston Heights at meeting of Patriotic society by Miss W. B. Servos; Photograph of Mrs. Hewgill, aunt of Lord Roberts by Mrs. H. Watt; Moodie's Emigrant's Companion 1832, Commuted pension 1838, Child's Christian Educator 1832 by Mrs. Campbell; Copies of Niagara Mail, Toronto Empire Telegraph, Leader, N. Y. Albion, book with names of 201 children

contributions to Otter Fund, Japanese tea pot which contained the \$12 for use of 1st Canadian Contingent in South Africa by Mrs. W. H. Lewis; Copy of picture of steamer Chief Justice Robinson; Two buttons of 100th Regt. by John Boulton; Four buttons of 100th Regt. Fort George by Albert Davey; Fragment of shell from War of 1812 by James Bishop; Ancient spectacle case by Mrs. Mills, Toronto; Belt ribbon of early days by Miss Crouch; Shanghai Daily Press, Aug. 1899 by Miss Purkes; Works of Jas. Harvey 1779 by Mr. H. Mills Toronto; Newspaper, "The Friend" Bloemfontein, Mar. 30, 1900. Call to arms appeal to Burghers, T. Steyne, Oct. 11th, 1899 by James Bain, Toronto; Card of Niagara Fire Brigade 1856 by John Clockenburg; Candlestick once used in the Virgil Methodist Church by Wm. Crouch; Newspaper cutting re Battle of Queenston Heights by Mrs. F. B. Curtis, Article in Buffalo Express by P. A. Porter re Prideaux's grave with map showing position of Chapel; Annual Report of Women's Canadian Historical Society, Toronto, 1899, 1900; Pamphlets 1, 2, 3, State Library, Albany, N. Y.; Report of 1st Canadian Historical exhibit; Report of Ontario Historical Society 1899, 1900; Report of Wisconsin Historical Society 1899, Vol. 15. State Historical Society, Wis.; Archaeological report by D. Boyle; Catalogue of Loan portrait exhibit by Mrs. Thompson, Toronto; Sites of Huron villages in township of Tiny by A. Hunter, Barrie; Canadian Historical Quarterly by Miss Carnochan; Review of Historical (Canadian) publications 1899, Prof. Wrong; Transactions Canadian Institute No. 9, Vol. 2, semi-centennial volume; Lines of Demarcation, Dr. S. E. Dawson, Ottawa; Proceedings of Royal Society 1899, Sir John Bourinot; State Library Bulletin, N. Y. University; Seven pamphlets from Massachusetts Historical Society, Boston; Women of Canada by National Council, Women of Canada; Proceedings of Hamilton Scientific Association 1900; Original pictures have been been photographed and placed in two large frames; An alphabetical list is given below:—Geo. Ball, son of Jacob Ball born 1765, came in 1784, Mrs. Geo. Ball, Mrs. Jacob Ball (Eliza Hostetter); Mrs. Bullock, daughter of Ralph Clench; John C. Ball fought at Queenston Heights; Mrs. John C. Ball (Margt. Frey); Judge Thos. Butler, Judge Ralph Clench 1762—1828. Mrs. Ralph Clench; Col. Lewis Clement fought at Lundy's Lane etc.; Mrs. Clement (Mary Ball), Mrs. Crooks (Mary Butler), Jos. Clement, Mrs. Jos. Clement (Ann Cockell), Mrs. Cook (Mary Secord), Rev. Thos. Creen, James Cooper 1770—1856; Mrs. Cooper (Eliza Hixon), Daniel Field 1792-1878 fought at Detroit etc.; Esther Hixon, Alexander McKee Mrs. McKee, both taught in Niagara after War of 1812; Daniel McDougall fought at Lundy's Lane etc., John McCarthy, Mrs. Quade, daughter of Dominic Henry; Mrs. Pawling, Catharine Butler, Thos. Powis, Mrs. Thos. Powis, Mrs. Electy Secord, Daniel Kerr Servos, Catharine Rousseaux his wife, Mrs. Stevenson, Philip Van Courtland Secord, Mrs. Jas. Secord (Laura Ingersoll), Jno. Ten Broek and sister, John Whitmore 1775—1853, Mrs. Agnes McEwan. It is hoped that all who have pictures of the early settlers will loan them to be copied and thus increase our gallery.

Ducit Amor Patriae.

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY,

No. 6.

NIAGARA LIBRARY,
1800 to 1820.

EARLY SCHOOLS
of Niagara.

BY

Janet Carnochan.

NIAGARA TIMES PRESSES,
NIAGARA 1900.

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

ITS objects are the encouragement of the study of Canadian History and Literature, the collection and preservation of Canadian historical relics, the building up of Canadian loyalty and patriotism, and the preservation of all historical landmarks in this vicinity.

The annual fee is fifty cents

The Society holds eight regular meetings during the year.

The annual celebration is held on the 17th September and the annual meeting on October 13th.

The Society was formed in December 1895, and since May 1896 about twelve hundred articles have been gathered in the Historical Room.

OFFICERS 1899 - 1900.

Patron—WM. KIRBY, F. R. S. C.

President—MISS CARNOCHAN.

Vice-President—HENRY PAFFARD.

Secretary—ALFED BALL.

Treasurer—MRS. A. SERVOS.

Curator—RUSSELL WILKINSON.

COMMITTEE.

REV. J. C. GARRETT,
REV. N. SMITH,
W. W. IRELAND, B.A.,
CHAS. HUNTER,
MRS. T. F. BEST.

HON. VICE-PRESIDENTS

MRS. ROE.
CHAS. F. BALL

HONORARY MEMBERS.

DR. SCADDING,	MAJOR HISCOTT,
REV. CANON BULL,	DR. JESSOP, M.P.P.,
COL. CRUIKSHANK,	CAPT. R. O. KONKLE.
WM. GIBSON, M.P.,	DAVID BOYLE, Ph. D.
JOHN ROSS ROBERTSON, M.P.	

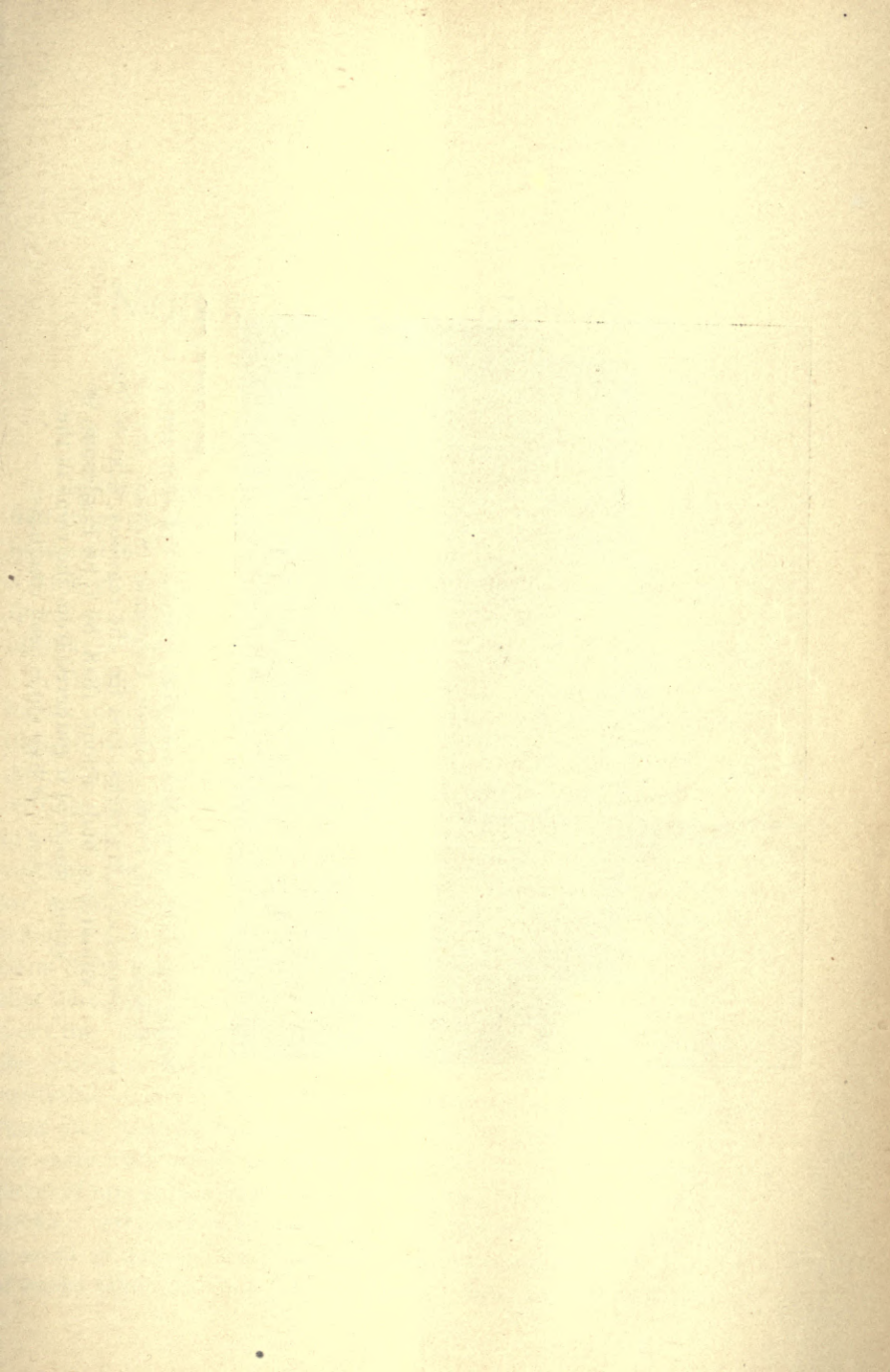
PREFACE,

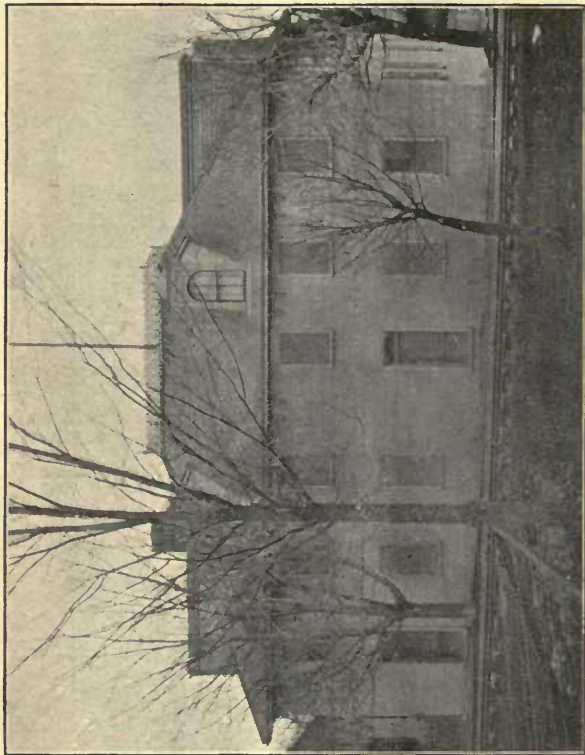
THE only apology made for the re-printing of the two papers read before different societies, which form the sixth issue of our Society is that many requests have been made that these papers found in the bound volumes of the Canadian Institute and the Educational Association, and therefore seen by comparatively few may be put in a form more accessible to the general public, particularly as they are in keeping with our work. The account of historic houses in number five has been received with such favor, that it has been resolved that the next issue of our Society shall be in the same line, and form indeed a continuation of that number. Our thanks are due to Mr. St. John for his kindness in taking kodak views of the houses of Mrs. M. Servos and Mr. Geo. Field for number five, and to Mr. W. H. Wylie for views for the present number and that to follow. It is to be regretted that no views can be found of many of the earliest buildings of this neighborhood, buildings which now, alas, no longer exist, but efforts are being made to bring to light any such sketches, and it is earnestly hoped that much may yet be discovered to re-vivify the past and explain many points that to us seems dark and uncertain.

THE Historical Room is open every Saturday afternoon from 3 to 5.

The pamphlets issued by our society are :

- No. 1. Taking of Fort George, with illustration of Niagara River, 27th May, 1813 by Col. Cruikshank, 20 cts. (The edition is now exhausted.)
- No. 2. (With three illustrations.) Centennial poem by Mrs. Curzon, Fort Niagara by Canon Bull, Slave Rescue in Niagara, 1837, by Miss Carnochan. 20 cts.
- No. 3. Blockade of Fort George, with illustration of Niagara, 1806, by Col. Cruikshank. 25 cts.
- No. 4. Memorial to United Empire Loyalists, by Jas. H. Coyne, President of Provincial Historical Society ; History taught by Museums, David Boyle, Curator of Archaeological Museum, Toronto ; Battle of Queenston Heights by Hon. J. G. Currie ; Monuments by Janet Carnochan. 20 cts.
- No. 5. Sermon by Rev. Robert Addison ; History of Mrs. Jean Baptiste Rousseaux by Alexander Servos ; Historic Houses by Alexander Servos, Charles Taggart, Jessie McKenzie ; Palatine Hill and Evolution of an Historical Room by Janet Carnochan. 20 cts.
- No. 6. The present issue. 20 cts.





WM. QUINN, PHO.

Stone Barracks, now Masonic Hall, used at different times as a Private School, Public School, Grammar School, also at intervals as a Barracks, first for the regulars, next for the volunteers, built about 1818 by John Eaglesum, of stone, much of it gathered from the ruins of the town. It has since been roughcast.

Niagara Library, 1800-1820.

BY JANET CARNOCHAN.

Read Before Canadian Institute 6th January 1894.

It says much for the members of any community when we find them providing reading of a high literary order, and especially would this be the case, at the beginning of this century, among a band of refugees just emerged from a great struggle, with the forest around them and everything speaking of a new country and all that is implied in this.

When by the merest chance, some months ago, I laid my hands upon an old, brown, leather-covered Record Book, I had no idea of the rich treat it was to prove. To my astonishment, by dint of much patient study of its thick, yellow pages covered with writing, though large yet very difficult to read, it was shown that in this old town of Niagara in those early days there was a most valuable public library well supported, the accounts showing regular payments and much interest, as evidenced by the money contributed and the regular records. To the boast made by Niagarians that here was held the first parliament for Upper Canada, that here was published the first newspaper, that it contains almost the oldest church records in Ontario, must now be added the honour of having had the first public library, and the first agricultural society. The varied information to be gleaned from this book may be thus classified: 1st, a list of proprietors through the years from 1800 to 1820; 2nd, list of their payments and those of non-subscribers; 3rd, catalogue of library with prices of books; 4th, money expended; 5th, rules and regulations; 6th, account of annual meetings, contingent meetings, etc; 7th, list of books taken out and date of return; 8th, alphabetical list of

subscribers with separate page for entries for each during these years. When we think of the vicissitudes of the years 1812, 1813, 1814, and of the stirring events which took place here, military occupation by friend and foe, of fire and sword alternately doing their cruel work, we wonder how this library was preserved, for preserved in part at least it was, for the issue of books goes on, a new catalogue with spaces left perhaps for books missing, and in the accounts sums are paid to replace particular books. It is interesting to follow up the period of the war and in all these divisions note the latest entry, and then following an interval of two years without the break of a line even left as space between such deeds as the glorious death of the Hero of Upper Canada, the rattle of guns and roar of cannons, the flight over frozen plains, watching the smoking ruins of once happy homes, still go on in the same handwriting, the payment of money the purchase of books, the annual meetings, etc. It may be doubted if in this day of boasted enlightenment we are willing to pay so much for our reading. One thing at least is certain, against the proprietors of this library cannot be made the charge of light reading now brought so justly against the frequenters of modern libraries. Nothing light or trashy can be found on the list. Theology, history, travel, biography, agriculture, a little poetry, and later, a small amount of fiction. We in these days can almost envy the people of that time for the delight they must have experienced when "Guy Mannering" and "Waverly" appeared, for they knew that the Great Magician of the North was still alive and was sending out regularly those delightful stories, while we can never again hope for such pleasure as the first reading of these books evoked.

In glancing over the list of subscribers we meet with names of many who played no insignificant part—the church, the army, the civil service, the yeomanry, are all represented. We find several names from Fort Niagara, U.S., and also several names of women. Were there nothing in this book but the list of names, this alone would be valuable. It seems strange to think that after all these years we can now take the name of a noted man of those days and follow it up through these pages, tell what style of read-

ing he preferred, when a particular book was taken out, when returned, how he paid his fees, when he attended the meetings of managers, and many other particulars. How little did they think that they were thus providing for us a very interesting page of history now !

The first entry is : “Niagara Library, 8th June, 1800. Sensible how much we are at a loss, in this new and remote country for every kind of useful knowledge, and convinced that nothing would be of more use to diffuse knowledge amongst us and our offspring than a library, supported by subscription in this town, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed hereby associate ourselves together for that purpose, and promise to pay annually a sum not exceeding four dollars to be laid out on books as agreed upon by a majority of votes at a yearly meeting to be held by us at this town on the 15th August annually, when everything respecting the library will be regulated by the majority of votes.

Andrew Heron.	Wm. Musgrove.	G. Drake.
John Kemp.	Silvester Tiffany.	Wm. Hodgkinson.
John Boyd.	Burgoyne Kemp.	John Jones.
John Young.	John Harrold.	Alex. Stuart,
John McClellan.	John Chisholm.	Peter Ten Broek.
John Burtch.	John Hardy.	Transferred to J.T.B.
Hugh McLaren.	John Reilley.	J. McFarland.
Wm. Dorman.	Ebenezer Cavers.	John Hill, jr.
Martin McLellan.	Peter Thomson.	Robert Addison.
Thomas Kerr.	John Willson.	Benjamin Pawling.
John Young.	Peter McMicking.	Robert Nelles.
Arch. Thomson.	George Keefer.	Daniel Servos.
Thos. Otway Page.	George Young.	John Decow.
Wm. Drake.	John Smith.	J. Murray.

41 subscribers at 24s. each £49 4s., carried to account current page B. 15 August, 1801.”

Of the original forty-one the names of only four can now be found in the vicinity, though descendants of several others may be found under other names.

The first on the list, Andrew Heron, was the secretary and treasurer of nearly all the period of twenty years. Robert Addison was the first minister of St Mark's. Silvester Tiffany was the

printer of the "Constellation," which followed the "Upper Canada Gazette." Then follows another list, continued down to 1820, of thirty-four names making altogether seventy-five, in which we recognize other names.

George Forsyth.	John Powell.	John McNabb.
Robert Kerr.	Robert Weir.	John Robertson.
John Wales.	R. Hamilton.	George Read.
Charles Selick.	Wm. Dickson, A.C.	Robert Mathews.
Colin McNabb.	Jas. Muirhead, A.C.	Dr. West.
Wm. Ward.	Thomas Powis.	J. P. Clement.
T. Butler.	Thomas Butler, A.C.	James Secord.
Wm. McClellan.	Isaac Swayzie.	Wm. Musgrove.
Alex. McKie.	Jno. Symington, A.C.	R. C. Cockrell.
Wm. Mann.	Israel Burtch.	Tubal Parr.
George Havens.	John Ten Broek.	Ensign Barnard.
John McEwan.	John Silverthorn.	Wm. Claus.

In this list we find the familiar names of Butler, Claus, Dickson, McNabb. That of Swayzie has been made familiar in the name of a delicious russet apple only found in this vicinity and probably first grown on the farm of this patron of our library. Dr. West was from Fort Niagara, and ten names on this list are quite familiar to us yet.

Now follows the account of the first annual meeting held on 15th August, 1800, when it was

"Resolved, that Andrew Heron and Martin McClellan be made commissioners to arrange the business of the society till the annual meeting to collect the subscriptions and lay it out in books to the best advantage, and that they act by the following rules :

RULE I.

To receive from every subscriber three dollars and no more.

RULE II.

As soon as thirty dollars is collected to lay it out on books, none of which shall be irreligious or immoral.

RULE III.

Every subscriber may, if he chooses, when he pays his subscription, make the choice of a book not exceeding his subscription, which shall be

procured for him with all convenient speed, providing nothing irreligious or immoral is contained in the same.

RULE IV.

As soon as a number of books can be procured, not less than fifty volumes, every subscriber shall be entitled to receive any book that remains in the library that he chooses, which he shall return in one month in good order.

RULE V.

No book shall be allowed to any of the subscribers unless they have first paid their subscription,"

Here follows a catalogue of books received into the library 2nd March, 1801, No. 1 to 80.

It is remarkable that the first thirty volumes are all of a religious nature, volumes 1, 2 and 3 being Blair's Sermons, and 4 and 5 Walker's Sermons, 9 and 10 Fordyce's Sermons to Young Women; the names of Watts, Bunyan, Boston, Newton, Doddridge, Wilberforce, Watson, Owen and Willison are seen. An attempt is even made to give proper guidance to young people in an important crisis of life—as No. 28 on the list is Religious Courtship. It is not till we reach No. 34 that we see any history, travel or poetry. This first purchase of eighty volumes, costing £31 17s., furnished the young people in these forty homes in poetry only Ossian, Cowper's Task, Campbell's Pleasures of Hope, but they might revel in the Citizen of the World and the Rambler, Bruce's Travels or Robertson's History of Charles V., and if Religious Courtship pleased them not as No. 28, No. 70 is simply Letters on Courtship. The only work of a less specific gravity is No. 73, The Story Teller, which no doubt was popular with the children of those households. The catalogue goes on during the years, up to 937, and contains many expensive works; then follows a list of payments for books, and money received for dues, and several pages are then occupied with the account of the annual, always spelled Annually, meetings. These always took place on the 15th August, and the record goes on without any break, except the year 1813, when the town was in the hands of the Americans, and 1814, when heaps of ruins replac-

ed happy homes ; also 1819 no meeting was held. The question as to how many of the books were preserved and how they were saved is yet to me an unsolved problem. Of course a large number were in circulation in the houses of the town and township ; while some would be burnt others would be saved ; but it is certain that a great many of the books in the library were not burnt, as afterwards, from the issue of books, from the numbers given as taken out and returned day after day, it may be seen what books were not destroyed. That many were destroyed or lost is certain, as in the accounts for next year the names of many books are given as to replace those lost. There is a new catalogue with spaces left.

To resume the account of meetings.

“Niagara Library Annuall Meeting, No. 2 held this 15th day of August, 1801. Resolved, that in addition to the two trustees who have acted last year two others shall be chosen, to act jointly with them for the year ensuing, and in the next annuall meeting two others shall be chosen to act with these four, and afterwards yearly two fresh ones shall be chosen, and the two oldest shall go out in such a manner as to have always six acting trustees, and at all meetings for transacting business the trustee present who shall be oldest on the list shall take the chair.”

Rev. R. Addison and Mr. John Young were the additional trustees this year. “Old members to pay \$2, and new members \$4.” Members who lived out of town were allowed to take two books at once, the time of returning to be extended to six weeks to those in the township, and to those out of the township two months. “Members neglecting to return a book at the proper time to pay a fine of sixpence currency for every week of detention, also if any book be lost. the member to whom it was given shall pay for it at the original cost, if it belongs to a set the whole set to be paid for by the member who lost it, he being entitled to the remaining volumes.

“Resolved, that all members who shall not pay the two dollars above mentioned within six months from this day shall be

suspended. Resolved, that every member who shall withdraw from the Society shall have a power of giving his right to any other person approved of by the trustees. Resolved, that the trustees shall meet quarterly, viz., on the second day of every Quarter Sessions of the Peace, and contingent meetings shall be called by the chairman at the request of any two of the the trustees."

"Quarterly meeting held at Niagara, 14th October 1801. Present, Martin McLellan, Rev. R. Addison, Jno. Young. Adjourned till the next quarterly meeting, held at Niagara. 13th January 1802. Present, Andrew Heron, Martin McLellan, Rev. R. Addison, Jno. Young. Books in catalogue from 118 to 150 received at prices annexed, and that George Young shall make a case for the books, for which he shall be paid a reasonable price." This we find in the accounts to be £5 2s.

At the quarterly meeting, April 14th, 1802, "Ordered that Mr. Tiffany print the laws of the Society, and be allowed three dollars for the same, and deliver not less than seventy copies to the trustees, one to be given to each subscriber, and that Mr. Murray be allowed one dollar more for Robertson's History of Charles V."

At the annual meeting, August 14th, 1802, No. 3, "Robt. Kerr, Esq., and Mr. Jno. Hill, trustees added." A stringent law is passed that "that part of the fifth resolution of the second meeting of the Society which directs that every member who shall neglect to return the books shall pay into the hands of some one of the trustees sixpence currency for every week he continues to hold the same after the time limited is expired, be enforced by the librarian, he not being at liberty to let him have another book until that sum is paid, and that that be extended to every person, whether member or not."

New members were this year to pay \$5, and next year this was raised to \$6. In 1804 comes the first payment to the librarian, and this is certainly a modest allowance. This library seems to have solved the difficulty of keeping down the expenses, as

through all these years there is no outlay for firewood, for rent, for light—the allowance to the librarian being a percentage on money paid by what are called non-subscribers. The original members are called sometimes proprietors and sometimes subscribers.”

“Resolved, that Andrew Heron be librarian for the ensuing year, and be allowed $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. of all the moneys collected for the last twelve months from non-subscribers, and the same for the year to come, and shall be obliged to make good all the books that may be lost by non-subscribers.”

This seems very hard on the librarian, but he must have been a book-lover, for through all these years he remained faithful to his trust—the emolument sometimes being £1 7s. 6d., sometimes £2 12s. 6d. For the year 1817 it was only 5s. 7d., and the largest amount was £6, which for those days must have been munificent. In 1804, books admitted from 316 to 344, and in January, 1805, quite an addition was made to the library as well as to the members of the society, which item tells us what we had seen mentioned elsewhere of the existence of an Agricultural Society with a number of valuable books.

— “Resolved, that the books mentioned in the catalogue from 348 to 397 be received from the Agricultural Society at the annexed prices, and that in lieu of them the arrears of Robert Kerr, Robert Addison, George Forsyth, Colin McNabb, and Robert Hamilton be remitted to them, and that a share in the library be given to Wm Dickson, James Muirhead, Thomas Butler, John Symington and Joseph Edwards at £2 8s. each, all these sums amounting to £16 8s.

In 1805. the trustees are John Kemp, Martin McLellan, John Young, John Waterhouse, Alex. McKie, Wm. Mann, and evidently it is found difficult to enforce the rules, for it is “Resolved, that each and every of the laws and regulations made at the last annual meeting shall continue for the year ensuing the same as they were made.” At a contingent meeting, 12th November, 1805, “John McNabb be admitted as member as one of the Agricultural

Gentlemen, and Ralph Clench."

At annual meeting, No. 7, August 15th, 1806, Geo. Reid and John Grier, the two new trustees; each proprietor to pay \$1 a year; a share, always spelled shear, to be sold at \$6.50. Resolved, that Jacob A. Ball and Lewis Clement be admitted to a share in right of their fathers as members of the Agricultural Society, those gentlemen already having purchased shares, and that Jane Crooks, eldest daughter of the late Francis Crooks, be admitted to a share in right of her father as a member of the Agricultural Society."

Thus history repeats itself. As the daughters of Zelophehad demanded that the inheritance of their father should pass to them, Miss Crooks, over three thousand years afterwards, makes the same claim and is as successful in obtaining her share of current literature as they in obtaining their share of land. This is not the only woman's name on the list, as we find in 1815 list the name of Miss Hill in place of her father. Also in list of payments the names of Mrs. Sluny, Fort Niagara, N.Y., 6s., Mrs. Stuart, one year 15s.

Members in town were now allowed to take out two books at once, 500 tickets were to be procured with all convenient speed to continue the number to be pasted on each book as entered.

"At annual meeting, No. 8, 1807, shares to be sold at \$7.00 each. Resolved, that one hundred copies of the catalogue be printed, and one copy to be given to each proprietor, and also one hundred copies of an abridgement of the laws, if it can be got done on reasonable terms."

"A contingent meeting, 24th Oct. 1807. Present, Alex. McKie, Wm. Mann, Robert Kerr, Jas. Muirhead, Geo. Reid, John Grier. Ralfe Church, Esq., offers to take charge of the library on being allowed his proportion of the annual payment. Resolved, that his proposal be accepted if he keep the Library open from 10 to 12 o'clock every day, Sundays excepted. Ordered, that Mr. Jas. Turlin's proposal to make a book case, the same as we have,

for \$12 be accepted." The first book case was £5 2s., so that prices must have decreased.

"A contingent meeting, August 1st, 1808. Andrew Heron having prepared a room for the library and offers to perform the duties of librarian, and be answerable for the books that may be missing as usual. Ordered, that his offer be cheerfully accepted. N.B.—Mr. Clench refusing to give up a *key* to the library, A. Heron will not become responsible for the books that may be missing."

From October, 1807, the entries of books are in an entirely different hand, but Mr. Heron still visited the loved books, for the name frequently occurs, and the next year the entries go on in the same large hand. The little difficulty of the key must have been settled. In the catalogue, books 568 to 611 are entered in a different hand, which is the period of Mr. Clench being in office.

Annual meeting, No. 9, August 15th, 1808. The new trustees are Hon. Robt. Hamilton and Mr. Jno. Symington. Members out of town to be entitled to three books at a time. "Resolved, that Andrew Heron be librarian and treasurer."

Annual meeting, No. 10, August 15th, 1809. Rev. Jno. Burns, minister of St. Andrew's and John Powell to be the two new trustees, and in place of Hon. R. Hamilton, deceased, John Wagstaff. Shares to be sold at eight dollars. Whether from the liberality of Mr. Heron in providing a room, or from his length of service, or some other reason not known, at this meeting it was "Resolved, that the librarian be entitled to receive 25% of all the money collected from non-subscribers and fines"; the additional title of clerk is now also given, thus, "A Heron to be librarian, treasurer and clerk."

Annual meeting, No. 11, 15th August 1810. "Resolved, that attendance on the library be required only one hour, from eleven to twelve on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays in every week."

Annual meeting, 15th August, 1811. The trustees this year

are James Crooks, George Reid, Rev. John Burns, John Powell, James Muirhead and Martin McLellan. Shares are sold at \$9—\$1 to be paid by each proprietor and \$3 by others, or \$1 a quarter.

Annual meeting, No. 13, August 15th, 1812, Proprietors to pay \$2 each. Books admitted at a contingent meeting 15th November, 1812, shortly after burial of Brock; books admitted 781 to 827.

The next entry is 15th August, 1815. What a different state of affairs from that of 1812, when war had been declared and Brock was marching to Detroit; or from 1813 when an enemy held the town; or 1814, when the rubbish of bricks was being taken to build Fort Mississagua! But with intrepid courage our trustees meet and make arrangements for the work of the library going on as usual. The trustees were John Symington, George Young, James Crooks, John Burns, George Reid, Andrew Heron. Notwithstanding all the losses incurred by the townspeople, the charges are made somewhat higher, each proprietor to pay \$2.50. Shares to be sold at \$9, and non-proprietors \$4 a year, or \$1 50 a quarter, or \$1 a month. At a meeting, 22nd January, 1816, books admitted, 882 to 900.

Annual meeting, No. 15, August 15, 1816. "Resolved that John Wray be librarian and clerk."

Quarterly meeting, 9th October, 1816. Books admitted, 901 to 909.

Annual meeting, No. 16, August 15th, 1817. "Resolved, that the meeting being thin that no new trustees shall be chosen, and shall remain to act as last year. Shares to be sold at \$10." There seems to have been some difficulty about books circulating too much, as witness the next: "Resolved that any proprietor or other person who receives books out of the library and allows any person to take them out of his house shall for every offence pay to the librarian £1 currency."

Annual meeting, No. 17, August 15, 1818. "Resolved, that

the meeting being thinly attended, no new trustees shall be chosen. All regulations remain as last year."

At a meeting of the trustees, held on 1st March, 1820, present, John Burns, George Young, James Crooks and And. Heron. "Resolved, that whereas Andrew Heron offered to take charge of the books belonging to the library, that the books shall be transmitted to his house with all convenient speed, and shall there be inspected by Andrew Heron and James Crooks as soon as can be conveniently done."

Here is the record of the last meeting of the trustees of this library. "Whereas the Niagara library has been greatly wasted, first by being plundered by the army of the United States, and has since been greatly neglected, very few of the proprietors having paid their quota to support the same, we, whose names are hereunto subscribed, hereby relinquish our claims on the same to Andrew Heron (who has now opened a library of his own for the use of the public) in consideration of his allowing us the use of his library for three years; this he engages to do to all those who have paid up their yearly contributions to the year 1817 inclusive; to those who have not paid to that period he will allow according to their deficiency in those payments. We consider those propositions as quite fair; and do thereto assent."

JAS. CROOKS,
J. MUIRHEAD,
JNO. SYMINGTON,
JNO. WAGSTAFF,

JNO. McEWAN,
J. BUTLER,
GEO. YOUNG,
JNO. GRIER,

JOHN POWELL.

In turning now to the account of money expended and received, it tells something of the love of books in those days that, from the year 1801 to 1818, there was expended on books for this library about £500, the first outlay being £46 17s. on August 15th, 1800. The record book itself cost £1, and Mr. Tiffany received for printing £1 4s. In reading the rather monotonous account of money paid yearly, monthly, or quarterly, we sometimes meet with a pleasing variety, as books sold by vendue,

spelled vandue, fine for detain of books, money to replace a book lost, books and tracts presented, a book of sermons sold to some sermon reader, The list, scattered over many pages, of money expended for books is interesting.

£ s. d.	SUBSCRIPTIONS PAID.	£ s. d.
180146 17 0	1801—41 subscribers.....	49 4 0
180227 4 6	1806— 5s. from 35 subscribers..	8 15 0
1803-4.....92 10 6	1807— 5s. " 41 proprietors..	10 5 0
180534 8 1	1808—10s. " 44 " ..	22 0 0
180636 8 0	1809—10s. " 42 " ..	21 0 0
180720 19 3	1810—10s. " 44 " ..	22 0 0
1808-9.....20 13 3	1811—10s. " 45.....	21 5 0
181031 12 6	1812— 5s. " 42.....	10 10 0
181143 4 3	1815—\$2 " 25.....	12 10 0
181221 16 6	1816—12s, 6d. " 13.....	8 2 6
181524 4 6	1817—12s. 6d. " 15.....	9 7 6
181615 5 6	1818—12s. 6d. " 8.....	5 0 0
181743 6 7		
181817 2 6		

This sum of £500 does not give all the outlay for books, as many single books are entered alone and not in this way. The modest emolument of the librarian may be seen in the following list, culled from many pages, he receiving a per centage on all sums paid by non-subscribers and fines. the sum varying from 5s. 7d. one year to £6, but generally less than £2, the whole payment to Librarian during these twenty years being £24, so that his must indeed have been a labour of love.

	£ s	£ s. d.
In 1804—12½ per cent. on.....	11	equals 1 7 6
1805— " " "	11	" 1 7 6
1806— " " "	9	" 1 2 6
1807— " " "	9	" 1 2 6
1808— " " "	6 5	" 13 6
1809— " " "	10	" 1 5 0
1810—25 " " "	9	" 2 5 0
1811— " " "	10 10	" 2 12 6
1812— " " "	10 10	" 2 12 6
1815— " " "	24 0	" 6 0 0
1817—12½ " " "	2 5	" 5 7
1818—25 " " "	13 15	" 3 8 9

It would be interesting to us to know how so many books were saved. It is known where Mr. Heron lived in the time of war. The story is told that his wife, with infant, was carried out on the street from a house in the centre of the town. It is likely, as there were forty subscribers and perhaps as many more non-subscribers, and each person might have out three books, there could be two hundred books in circulation, many of which might come back. Then as many articles of furniture were saved, being carried out to the street, many of the books might be saved from the library. The new catalogue gives a list of two hundred with spaces left between. The spaces I at first thought represented books missing, but I have now concluded that the numbers given represent books bought to replace the old ones burnt or lost, as very often the prices are different from the first catalogue, and that the spaces represent books either in the library or if lost not replaced, as in the list of issues of books after the war many numbers occur representing books in these spaces.

It may be worth recording, as forming another link in the history of our library, a strange coincidence which occurred while writing this paper, by which one of the books was heard from. So far, I had not met a single person who had even heard of the existence of the library, but calling on an old lady a resident of the town, to inquire about it, a postal card was produced received that day from Ancaster with this question, "Can you tell me anything of a public library in Niagara when the town was burnt, as I have a book which was the only one saved from the fire." I have since then seen the book. It is number 51 in the catalogue, Blossoms of Morality, or Blossom on Morality, and is remembered by the owner as charred with fire; but these burnt leaves are now torn away, and on an inner page is written, "This book was saved by my father, who was an officer in the British army when the town was burnt, December, 1813. The only book saved from the library. Thomas Taylor." As a matter of fact it is the only book in existence of which we know anything, but it might be worth inquiry if other books can be found belonging to the library, or what became of the library after it came into the hands of Mr. Heron. We know that he kept a bookstore and published the

Gleaner newspaper, bound copies of which for the year 1818 are in homes in the town. Also a copy of Mavor's spelling-book printed by him, with catechism of Church of England at the end, second edition, date not plain, but some time after 1800. On another sheet of the record book, headed subscription paper number two, the exact words of the first page of book are copied and the names John Wagstaff, Richard Cockrell, James Hyslop, Wm. Musgrove, Lewis Clement, Wm. Ball, Wm. Forsyth, Wm. Robertson, Alex. Rogers, Andrew Brady, Jas. Patterson, 16th August, 1815: to these are added afterwards A. Heron, T. Symington, P. Ball, W. Hodgkins, T. Jones, J. Muirhead, George Young, W. Burtch, John Robinson George Reid, Geo. Havens, J. McEwan, Miss Hill. In 1816, names added are, Thos. Butler, Jas. Heron—a sadly diminished list of twenty-seven.

It is intensely interesting to follow all the different divisions of contents through so many years. There was no meeting in 1813, 1814, 1819. Books were taken out up to May 24th, three days before the town was taken. John Dodd paid 5s. and Capt. Roxborough 5s. There are few records while in possession of U.S. troops, but some money was paid and a few books taken out. "June 18th, 1813, Capt. Dorman, U.S. made a payment, three months, 5s." (there is a Wm. Dorman in first list of proprietors). In 1814, March, J. Rea, Ensign, 100th Reg't., 10s., and the names of John Valentine, 100th Reg't., and John Gibson, Field Train Department. Then in 1815 different payments from officers, as Col. Preddy, Col. Harvey, W. E. Athinleck, Hospital Asst. Then Dep. Asst. Com. Gen. Lane, Capt. McQueen, Major Montgomery, Major Campbell, Lieut. Vigoreux, Col. St. George, Thos. Cummins, Sergt. 41st Reg't., Capt. Claus, Capt. Lyons, Lieut. Vanderverter, Ensign Winder, Capt. Saunders, Capt. Reid, of Fort Niagara, Sergt. Jenkins, Fort Niagara. Dr. West, Fort Niagara, had a share in 1806. Many strange names occur. In the course of my reading the other day occurred the name of Jedediah Prendergast, and singularly enough from the thick, yellow pages of this record stands out conspicuously this identical name, Jedediah Prendergast. But in list of money paid we find Dr. Prendergast, also the names of John Easterbrook, Benj.

Wintermute, Louis Dufresne. It is singular that the accounts are kept partly in Halifax currency, partly in York currency, and partly in dollars and cents. In the pages carefully ruled for proprietors, different years, the yearly payment is given as 10s. or 5s. as the case may be, while in the other list these are entered 16s. and 8s. In many cases the right of proprietorship is transferred to another. In 1815, several books are bought to replace those missing, such as Spectator, Burns' works, Don Quixote, and in 1816, Joseph Andrews, Robertson's America, Watt's Improvement, Humphrey Clinker, Children of the Abbey, Josephus, Walker's Sermons, but Porteous' Sermons sold for 10s. In 1816, "by amount of books sold at vandue, £27 12s. 2d., N.Y. cy., £17 5s. 1d." In 1817, received for damage done to Life of Wellington, 17s. 6d., Blackstone's commentaries, old copy, paid for being lost, £1 19s." These seem high prices for injury to books. "December 17th, 1804, received from Pte. Nicklon a fine for keeping a book eighteen weeks at 6d. sterling, 14s. 4d." Poor private, the law said 6d. currency, but from his scanty pay he is compelled to disburse this heavy tax

One entry defeated every effort to decipher it till a happy guess makes it read, "November 12th, 1815. To a Gownd to Mrs. Nulin for taking care of books 15s. 6d." Happy Mrs. Nulin, were she fond of reading, for not only might she gratify her inclination, but she also receives a *Gownd* as a reward. There seems in the last years to be a deficit, expressed as balance due A. Heron £11 9s. 9d. in 1818, showing our treasurer to have been a man of means, as shown also in the record book of St. Andrew's Church, of which he was treasurer, when there was a balance due him of £176. The last entries are, "By cash received from Mr. Smith for detain of books over the limited time. April 19th, 1819, 7s. 6d. Aug. 18th, By cash, Mr. Crysler, for detain of books over the limited time, 5s." There are frequent entries of books presented, also tracts. In the catalogue No. 444 is Abelard and Heloise, presented by Mr. Alexander Campbell, student-at-law. There are altogether 102 names of proprietors, the largest at any time being 45, in 1811, and the smallest eight in 1818. Among the books in the catalogue are, in poetry, are Pope's Works, 10

volumes, £2 10s. ; Shakespeare's, 8 volumes, £2, 12s. ; Milton, Johnson, Dryden, Virgil, Thomson, Spenser, Ramsey, Burns, Scott. Fifty volumes on Agriculture, many of them very expensive works, came in, 348-398 from Agricultural Society, although in report for 1892 Hon. John Dryden said the first Agricultural Society was formed in 1825.

Hume's History of England, continued by Smollet, 21 volumes £7 4s. ; Bruce's Travels eight volumes, £7 4s., also Cook's and Anson's Voyages. The library was especially rich in works of travel and in magazines ; regularly every year are catalogued, European Magazine, Edinburgh Magazine, Edinburgh Review, Scot's Magazine, Lady's Magazine, British Critic, Annual-Register. The British Theatre, 25 volumes, £11, might cause some of our book committees to hesitate in these days, though it staggered not our brave proprietors of those early times. Altogether we think we have much reason to congratulate these pioneers of civilization in this peninsula that such a taste was shown for reading of such a high order, and express the hope that the libraries of the future may be as well selected, that the public may make as great sacrifices and support as liberally these aids to culture, and that many such secretaries and treasurers may be found willing to give time and faithful service to secure good literature, not only for the present but to hand down to those to come.

A few words may be pardoned in relation to other libraries in the town. A most interesting and valuable collection of books is to be found in the rectory of St. Mark's Church, consisting of about a thousand volumes, with many folio editions quite rare. These were formerly the property of Rev. Robert Addison, sent out by S.P.G. Days—nay, months—might be pleasantly spent in loving examination of these rare editions from Leyden, Oxford, Geneva. Well was it that they were not in any house in town in December, 1813, but being at Lake Lodge (about three miles out in a log house, part of which may yet be seen) they were saved. They were lately in possession of Dr. Stevenson, but by the zeal of the Venerable Archdeacon McMurray they were procured and placed in the rectory. Every book has placed in it this in-

scription : "Presented to St. Mark's church by the heirs of Rev. Robert Addison, to be the property of that church in perpetuity." There are altogether fifty-three folio volumes, many of them being specially interesting. One of these, the complete works of George Buchanan, 1715, poems, Latin Works, History of Scotland, a Satyr on Laird of Lydington, printed 1570, all in one volume, Hooker's Ecclesiastical Polity, 1598. One folio has been well or rather much used ; it is Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary, 1694. No doubt many came, allowed by the kind old man, to consult its pages. On the first leaf, these words show that there were in those days restrictions on the publications of books (these were not removed till the time of William III.); "Whitehall, 28th Jnuary, 1691/2. I do allow this work to be printed. Sydney." Jeremy Taylor, Polemical and Moral Discourses, 1657 ; Burneton, 39 articles 1700 ; Machiavelli's Works, 1680 ; Spottiswood's History of Scotland, 1666 ; Fuller's Holy State, 1642 ; Montague's Essays, 1632 ; Fiddes' Life of Cardinal Wolsey, 1724, with copper plates, one being View of Kitchen of Cardinal's Cottage, Christ Church. Another volume is Historical Collection, Rushworth, 1659, with strange picture of James I., and the awe-inspiring legend "Touch not mine anointed" bringing up thoughts of the length to which this doctrine was carried by that unhappy race. A prayerbook, Breeches Bible, 1599, in Black letter, and Psalms, version of Sternhold and John Hopkins, all bound together. In the prayer book is the prayer offered "That it may please thee to bless and preserve our Most Gracious Soverign Queen Mary, Prince Charles, and the rest of the *Royal Progenie*," This book has been rebound in vellum.

Other works are Xenophon's Cyrus, 1713 ; Virgil, 1576 ; Quintillion, Oxford, 1692 ; Tillotson, 1675 ; Poli, Synopsis London (Poole's), 1669 ; five volumes, folio, Matthew's Commentaries, Plutarch's Morals, 1603 ; Xenophon's Cyrus, Cicero's works in Latin. A few others at random—Shakespeare, 1771 ; Spectator, 1726 ; Jonathan Edwards, 1699 ; Cicero's Orations, 1590 ; Lord Clarendon's, 1676 ; Latin Funeral Orations, 1611 ; Greek Grammar, 1683 ; Pope's Iliad, 1721 ; Erasmus, Rotterdam, 1526 ; New Testament (French), Geneva, 1577 ; Pliny's Epistles, 1640 ;

Stillingfleet, 1681 ; Jeremy Taylor, 1676 ; Virgil, 1613 ; Plutarch's Morals, 1603 ; St. Augustus' City of God, 1610.

Another library, that of St. Andrew's church, singularly enough also numbering about 1,000 volumes as the two already referred to, came into existence Aug. 26th, 1833, and here we see the name of Andrew Heron in the issue of books. There is an index with reference to pages, 214 names, from 1833 to 1869, up to folio 274. Up to 1836 there are 120 names, showing that a large number of families attended St. Andrew's church. There was a catalogue costing $7\frac{1}{2}d.$ in 1835, and memorandum of copies sold up to 1843. The catalogue numbers 919 books. The only names on the list now attending the church are McFarland, Elliot, Davidson Blake, Wynn, Carnochan. The first name is, as in Niagara Public Library, Andrew Heron. In 1836 occurs the name of one who afterwards became one of the Fathers of Confederation, Archibald McKellar. He attended the Niagara District Grammar School, was married by Rev. Dr. McGill ; there are only two books marked against his name.

Many memories of the past are brought up by the names Barr, Lockhart, Crooks, Stocking, Whitelaw, Eaglesum, Wagstaff, Miller, Malcolmson, McMicking. Many books were presented by friends in Scotland, but there are only a few old or rare books. The Harper's Library Series seem to have been well read. It may be recorded as worthy of notice that in the old record book of St. Andrew's church, dating from 1794, many of the names of the supporters are also found in the list of proprietors of the Niagara Library, 1800, showing the love of reading always remarked of the nationality most found in the Presbyterian Church.

The successor to these libraries is the Niagara Mechanics' Institute, having been in existence since October 24th, 1848, as a copy of the constitution and by-laws, printed by F. M. Whitelaw, with names of members, one hundred and one, shows ; Pres. W. H. Dickson, M.P.P. ; Vice-President, E. C. Campbell ; Secretary, Dr. Melville ; Treasurer and Librarian, W. F. G. Downs. Among the committee are Thos. Eedson, John Simpson, Jas. Boulton, J. D. Latouche, B. A., Sam. Risley, Jno. Whitelaw. There is also a catalogue printed by Wm. Kirby in 1861, then

numbering about 1,000 volumes. The library has gone through many vicissitudes ; being closed for some time, it was greatly revived through the exertions of Dr. Withrow while a resident of Niagara, and has always owed much to the great interest shown in it by Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C. It now numbers 4,000 volumes and has received much praise for its judicious selection of books.

When we think of the influence in any community of a good Library, of the pleasure and profit derived, we think of the words of Ruskin. "We may have in our bookcases the company of the good, the noble, the wise, Here is an *entree* to the best society. Do you ask to be the companions of nobles, make yourself noble ; you must rise to the level of their thoughts, to enter this court with its society, wide as the world, multitudinous as its days ; the chosen and the mighty of every place and time, here you may always enter, Into this select company no wealth will bribe no name overawe ; you must fit yourself by labour and merit to understand the thoughts of these great minds. You must love them and become like them." Judge, then, how much the people of this vicinity owe to the proprietors of the Niagara Public Library, furnishing to the young people of so many households reading of so high an order, fitting them to fight manfully the great battle of life.

The following notes have been added :

Martin McLellan was killed at the taking of the town, 27th April, 1813 ; Robert Nelles lived at "The Forty," now Grimsby ; Daniel Servos was one of Butler's Rangers ; Thomas Butler was the son of Col. John Butler ; R. C. Cockrell was perhaps the first Grammar School teacher in Niagara ; John Wray was the Clerk of St. Mark's for fifty years as told on his tombstone. Much could be written of other names in the list. In connection with the Agricultural society we find that Gov. Simcoe contributed 10 guineas in 1793 ; in the diary of Col. Clark, in possession of his son Dr. Clark, St. Catharines, is mentioned, that at the monthly dinner the great silver snuff box, ornamented with the horn of plenty, remained with the housekeeper who had to supply the next monthly dinner to the Agricultural Society and was the property of the President *pro tem* for the year, and then passed into the hands of

the next President. Query : Where is it now ?

Since this paper was written a book has been found which is now in the possession of the Niagara Historical Society, with the label "Niagara Library, No. 81." It is Matthew Henry's Communicant's Companion, 1799, and is found in the catalogue thus described. Had the label been destroyed the book to us would have been of no value as a relic of the Library. In Niagara Gleaner, 1819 we find an advertisement regarding a circulating library, very severe rules are given, dire penalties to be levied on those who turned a leaf down, defaced or lost a book, It is likely that the books were sold at the death of Mr. Heron and thus dispersed.

The Niagara Public Library celebrated the fiftieth Anniversary in Dec. 1898. It was then found that Mr. Henry Paffard had been Treasurer for thirty-three years and Mr. Kirby, President for twenty-five years, such length of service is a unique circumstance in the history of the Public Libraries of the country. The portraits of these gentlemen were placed on the walls of the Library.

CATALOGUE OF BOOKS.

Received into Library 2nd March, 1801—1 to 80.

- | | |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|
| 1, 2, 3—Blair's Sermons. | 21—Anderson on Psalmody. |
| 4, 5—Walker's Sermons. | 22—Cloud of Witnesses. |
| 6, 7, 8—Divine Economy. | 23—Scott's Essays. |
| 9, 10—Fordyce's Sermons, | 24—Wilberforce's View. |
| 11—Newton's Prophecy. | 25—Rise and Progress of Religion |
| 12—Smith's Prophecy. | in the Soul. |
| 13—Watt on Son of God. | 26—Watson's Apology for Bible. |
| 14— " Improvement of Mind. | 27— " " Christianity |
| 15— " Memoirs. | 28—Religious Courtship. |
| 16— " Holy War. | 29—Owen on Trinity. |
| 17—Dyer's ——— | 30—Brown's Christian Journal. |
| 18—Willison on the Sabbath. | 31—Burton's Feeling. |
| 19—Boston's Character. | 32—Muirhead's Differentiation. |
| 20— " Regeneration. | 33—Brown's Oracles. |

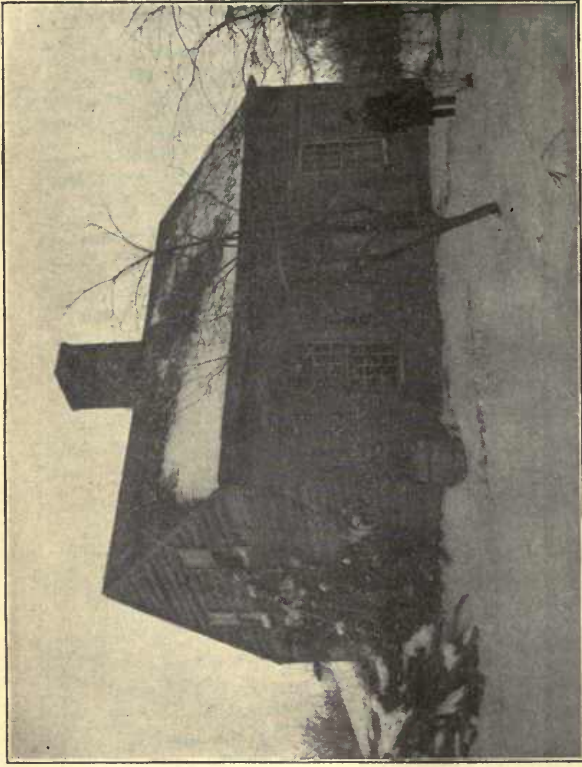
- 34—Robertson's History of South America, £1 12s. in America.
 35, 36—Robertson's History of South America. 103—Daniel and Revelation.
 37—Stanton's Embassy to China. 104—Gospel its Own Witness.
 38, 39—Residence in France. 105—Duty of Female Sex.
 40, 41—Morse's Geography. 106-17—Rollins' History, £2 8s.
 42—Bruce's Travels. 118-19-20—Edinburgh Magazine, £3 18s.
 43, 44—Citizen of the World. 39—Omitted in its place and carried to page 13, act. current, Boston's Memoirs.
 45, 46—Ossian's Poems. 121—Snodgrass' Revelation.
 47—Campbell's Narration. 122-24—Gillies' Greece, £2 12s.
 48, 49—Croker on ——— 125-26—Moore's Letters.
 50—Caroline Lichfield. (replaced in 3 vols.) 127-28— " Journal.
 51—Blossoms of Morality. 129-30—Fuller,
 52—Pleasures of Hope. 131—Ray's Discourses.
 53, 54—Mirror. 132—Taplin's Farriery.
 55—Mental Improvement. 133—Female Complaints.
 56—Lady's Library. 134-37—Wells' Geography.
 57—Cowper's Task. 138-39-40-41—History of British Admirals, £2.
 58-60—Marvellous Magazine. 142-43—Knox on Education.
 61—Bennet's Lectures. 144—Paradise Regained.
 62-65—History of Jacobinism, £2. 145—World Depths.
 66, 67—Repository. 146-47—Boderick's Travels.
 68, 69—The Rambler, £1 4s. 148—Constitution U. S.
 70—Letters on Courtship. 149—Tracts presented by Andrew Heron.
 71—
 73—Story Teller. 150—History of Barbary.
 74-77—Emperor Charles V. To—more allowed for History of Charles.
 78—Burk's Revolution. 151-52—Beattie's Essays.
 79—McIntosh's Revolution. 153-54—Leland's Life of Philip.
 80—A letter to Burk. 155-56—Bloody Tribunal.
 81—Communicant's Companion. 157—Bishop Burnet's History of His Own Times.
 82-89—Pope's Works, £2 10s. 158-59—Quintius Curtius' History of Alexander.
 90—Milton's Works. 160—Mendrill's Journey from Aleppo to Jerusalem.
 91—Brydon's Tour. 161—Judah Restored.
 92—Indian Concert. 162-63—Hervey's Meditation.
 93, 94—Burnet's Theory of Earth, £2. 164—Goldsmith's Rome.
 95—Robertson's Proofs. 165—Adam's Views.
 96—Young's Essays.
 97-99—Robertson's History of Scotland.
 100—History of War in Asia.
 101-2—Burk's European Settlement

- 166—New Pilgrim.
 167—Moral Repository.
 168—Colet's Discourses.
 169—Theological Magazine.
 170-71—N. Y. Missionary.
 172—Female Education.
 173—Seneca's Morals.
 174—Murray's Sequel.
 175—English Reader,
 176—Zimmerman on Solitude.
 177—Fullers' Gospel of the Bible.
 178—
 179—Mackenzie's Voyage.
 180-81—Morse's Gazetteer, £2.
 182—Key to the Prophecies.
 183—History of Iceland (present-
 ed by J. Young.)
 184-85—Forbes' Works.
 186-206—Hume's History of England,
 continued by Smollet (21
 vols.) £7 4s.
 207-212—Heine's History of Scotland,
 £3 17s.
 213-17—Ferguson's History of Rome,
 £4 7s.
 218—Kinneard's Edinburgh.
 219—Heates' Pelew Islands.
 220—Robertson's India.
 221-22—Prideaux Connection.
 223-28—Josephus' Works, £2 2s.
 229-33—Edinburgh Magazine, £5 12s.
 234-36—Edinburgh Review.
 237-40—Johnson's Lives.
 241-48—Shakespeare's Works. £2 12s.
 249-52—Dryden's Virgil.
 253-54—Silver Devil.
 255-57—Gonsalvo of Cordova.
 258—Joseph Andrews.
 259-60—Humphrey Clinker.
 261-62—Roderick Random.
 263—John Bull.
 264—Park's Travels.
 265-70—British Tourists, £2 17s.
 271-72—Heron's Journey.
 273-76—Hawkesworth's Voyages,
 277-80—Cook's Voyages.
 281—Anson's Voyages.
 282-83—Leland's Views.
 284-86—Blair's Lectures.
 287—Erskin's Discourses.
 288—Campbell on Miracles.
 289—Wall's World to Come.
 290-91—Beattie's Evidences.
 292—New York Magazine.
 293—Fuller.
 294—Thompson's Seasons,
 295—Spenser's Shepherd.
 296—Sherlock on Providence.
 297—History of George III.
 298-99—Knox's Essays.
 300—Commerce of Ancients.
 301—Thoughts on State of Religion.
 302—Theological Magazine.
 303—Memoirs of Gen. —
 304—Fletcher's Appeal.
 305—M. Magazine.
 306—Forsyth on Trees,
 307—N. Y. Missionary.
 308—Saint's Everlasting Rest
 309—Gospel Sonnets.
 310—Rushe's Charges.
 311—Russian Empire.
 312—Robinson's.
 313-14—Talemachus' French and Eng-
 lish.
 315—Aikin's Letters to his Son.
 316-18—Adolphus' George III.
 319-20—British Critic, £3 5s.
 321-23—Edinburgh Review, £1 16s.
 324-25—European Magazine, £2 8s.
 326-27—Edinburgh Magazine, £2 6s.
 328-29—Wilson's Egypt, £2 4s.
 330-33—Pamela, £2.
 334-36—Tom Jones, 18s.
 337—Pictures of Palermo.
 338—Vicar of Wakefield.
 339-42—Burns' Works, £3 15s.
 343—Percival's Ceylon, £3 12s.

- 344—Barrington's N. S. Wales.
 345—Nisbet's Church History.
 346—State of Europe. Presented
 by Hon. R. Hamilton.)
 347—Adams' Anecdotes.
 348-61—Young's Agriculturist, £10.
 362-66—Museum Rusticus, £3 4s.
 367-68—Young's Tour in Ireland.
 369-74—Wright's Husbandry, £3 12s.
 375-76—Marshall's Midland County
 377-78—Adams' Agriculturist.
 379-81—Doylin's "
 382-83—Dickson's Husbandry.
 384—Hart's "
 385-86—Anderson's Agriculturist.
 387—Gentleman Farmer.
 388-92—Bath Papers.
 393-94—Dickson's Agriculturist,
 395—Dublin Society.
 396—Small & Barrm.
 397—Hume on Agriculture.
 398-98—Horne on the Psalms,
 400-7—Spectator, £3 4s. £5 5s. N.Y.
 currency is in Canada cur-
 rency £3 5s. 7½d.
 408—Mills on Cattle.
 409-10—Pallas' Travels in Russia.
 411—Whitman's Travels in Syria.
 412-13—Adolphus' History of France.
 414— " Reflections.
 415-16—Winterbottom's Sierra Leone.
 417—Card's Revolution of Russia.
 418—Pinkerton's Geography.
 419—Gordon's Rebellion.
 420—Population of Ireland.
 421—Divernois on the Five Pro-
 vinces.
 422—Grant's Poems.
 423-25—Palmerston's Letters.
 426—Scot's Magazine, 1804.
 427-28—European "
 429-33—Edinburgh Review.
 434—Sketches at Cape Good Hope.
 435—War in St. Domingo.
 436—Female Education.
 437—Simpson's Plea for Religion.
 438—Brown's Sermons.
 439—Religion of Greeks.
 440—History of Popes.
 441—Abelard and Heloise (pre-
 sented by Mr. Alex.
 Cameron, Student-at-Law.
 442—Farmer's Boy.
 443-44—Marshall's Yorkshire.
 445—Tull's Husbandry.
 446—Court of St. Cloud.
 447—Scot's Edinburgh Magazine.
 448-53—Edinburgh Review.
 454-57—British Critic, £4 10s.
 458-65—Bruce's Travels, £7 4s.
 466-69—Blackstone's Commentaries.
 470—Grant's Voyages to N.S. Wales
 471-72—Cyrus' Travels.
 473—McHinnem's Tour.
 474-79—Plutarch's Lives, £1 13s.
 480—Peyrimsis' Voyages.
 481-89—Witherspoon's Works, £2 8s.
 490—Sir H. Moncrieff's Sermons.
 491—Chatham's Letters.
 492—Mallory's Memoirs.
 493—Masson's Cookery.
 494—Lavater's Physiognomy.
 495-98—Don Quixote, £1 18s.
 499-502—Arabian Nights.
 503-05—Edgeworth's Tales.
 506-10—Tales of the Castle.
 511-4—Peregrine Pickle.
 515—Estelie.
 516—Devil upon Two Sticks.
 517-18—Excessive Sensibility.
 519—Man of Feeling.
 520-22—Ramsay's Works.
 524—Tuckey's Voyages, N.S. Wales.
 525—Edwards on Baptism.
 452-53—European Magazine, omitted.
 526-28—Plains.
 529-31—History of France.
 532—Musical Repository.

- 533—Speecchly on the Vine.
 534—Selkirk on Emigration.
 535—Fisher's Travels in Spain.
 536—Bigland's Modern Europe.
 537—Michavois Travels.
 538—Scot's Magazine.
 539-40—European Magazine.
 541—Lady's Magazine.
 542-45—Edinburgh Review.
 546—Jackson on the Mediterranean.
 547—Hinchley's Fall of Venice.
 548-49—Repton's Odd Whims.
 550-51—Father's Gift.
 552-55—Children of the Abbey.
 556—Lucas on Duelling.
 557—Bravo of Venice.
 558-60—Count de Valmont.
 561-63—Men and Women.
 564— of Seduction.
 565-66—Tour of
 567—Sermons.
 568-79—Henry's History of Great Britain, £6 15s.
 580-83—Edinburgh Review.
 584-85—Scotch Magazine.
 586-88—Annals of Great Britain.
 589-90—Dick's Selections.
 591—Cook on the Resurrection.
 592-93—Robertson on Atmosphere.
 594-97—Trevanion.
 598—History of Masonry.
 599-601—Kaines' Sketches.
 602-3—Malthus on Population.
 604-11—Goldsmith's Animated Nature, £2.
 615-14—State of the Times.
 615—Scotch Magazine.
 616-17—European Magazine.
 618—Lady's Magazine.
 619-20—British Critic, £2 8s.
 621-23—Edinburgh Review.
 624-26—Smith's Wealth of Nations.
 627-29—Ferguson's Lectures.
 630-33—Sinclair on Longevity.
 634-36—Pickard's West Indies.
 637—Public Characters. 1809-10.
 638-40—Lounger.
 641—Lives of British Naval Heroes.
 642—Stewart's Philosophy of Mind.
 643-46—Gil Blas.
 647-49—Owen on the Spirit.
 650-51—Gilpin's Lives of Reformers.
 652-59—British Plutarch.
 660—Mason on Self-Knowledge.
 661—New Picture of Edinburgh.
 662—Sterne's Sentimental Journey.
 663—Spirit of the English Wits.
 664—Saville's Dissertation.
 665—Pilgrim's Progress.
 666—The Mountain Bard.
 667-70—Medical Journal, £3 11s.
 671-75—Fool of Quality.
 676—Chesterfield's.
 677—Scotch Magazine, 1809.
 678-79—European Magazine.
 680—Lady's Magazine.
 681-82—British Critic.
 683-86—Edinburgh Review.
 687 to 711—British Theatre, 25 vols., £11.
 712-15—Cutorell's Gazetteer, £5.
 716—General Atlas, £2 5s.
 717-18—Craig's Sermons.
 719—Moore's Tales.
 720-21—Thornton's Turkey.
 722-29—Enfield's Encyclopædia.
 730-31—Count Fathom.
 732—Vince on Atheism.
 733-34—More's Utopia.
 735—Cottagers of Glenburnie.
 736—Adventures of D——.
 737-40— " a Guinea.
 741-43—Belinda, £1 2s. 6d.
 744-45—Caroline of——

- 746—
 747—Letters from a Loyalist.
 748—Hill's Life of Dr. Blair.
 749—Life of Buchanan.
 750-51—Clarkson on the Slave Trade.
 752—Resources of Britain.
 753—Scotch Magazine.
 754-55—European “
 756—Lady's “
 757-58—British Critic, £2 8s.
 759-62—Edinburgh Review.
 763-64—Porteous' Sermons.
 765—Moorehead's Discourses.
 766—Gray's Letters.
 767-68—History of Chili.
 769—Trotter on Drunkenness.
 770-72—Letters from the Mountains.
 773—“ of Swedish Court.
 774—Twin Sisters.
 775-82—Clarissa Harlowe, £2 14s.
 783—Man of the World.
 784—Paul and Virginia.
 785-86—History of St. Helena.
 787-89—Edgeworth's Tales of Fashionable Life, £1 8s. 6s.
 790—History of Charles XII.
 791—Scotch Magazine.
 792-93—European “
 794—Lady's “
 795-96—British Critic.
 797-800—Edinburgh Review.
 801-2—New Annual Register.
 803-8—Gifford's Life of Pitt, £6 6s.
 809-43—Camilla, £1 14s.
 814—Description of 300 Animals.
 815-17—West's Letters to Young Men.
 818—Park's Rudiments of Chemistry.
 819-20—Tolney's Travels.
 821-22—Walker's Sermons.
 823—Lady of the Lake.
 824—Island of Jamaica.
 825-27—Tristram Shandy.
 828-35—Edgeworth's Moral Tales.
 836-37—British Critic, £2.
 838-39—British Critic, 1813, £2.
 840-41—Edinburgh Annual Register.
 842-43—“ “ “ £2.
 844—Scotch Magazine, 1812.
 845-47—“ “ 1813, 1814.
 848-49—European Magazine.
 850—Lady's “
 851-53—Edinburgh Review.
 854—British Critic.
 855-56—Annual Register, 1811.
 857-61—Edinburgh Register.
 862-63—Goldsmith's ———
 864-67—Modern Geography.
 868—Savage New Zealand.
 869-70—Magazine.
 871—Castle of Otranto.
 872—History of Otaheite.
 873-74—“ the War.
 875-77—Edinburgh Review.
 878-79—Gordon's Ireland.
 880-81—Edinburgh Register.
 882-85—Young Philosopher.
 886-87—Peregrine Proteus.
 888-90—The Jesuit.
 891-95—Scottish Chiefs, £3 4s.
 906-8—Waverly.
 909—E. Annual Register.
 910—Scotch Magazine, 1814.
 911-12—“ “ 1815.
 913—Clark's Life of Nelson.
 914—Colonial Policy.
 915-16—Life of Wellington, £2.
 917—European Magazine,
 918-20—Scot's Magazine, 1816.
 921—Lady's Magazine.
 922-27—Edinburgh Review.
 928—Annual Register.
 929—“ “ 1815.
 930-31—European Magazine.
 932-33—Edinburgh Magazine.
 934—Lady's Magazine.
 935-37—Edinburgh Review.



This house, near the Western Home, is supposed by some to have been built before the war of 1812. It is a log building afterwards clapboarded, and contains five fire-places. For many years, previous to 1827 and subsequently, the private school of Miss Young was taught here.

A view taken of the kitchen fire-place with old fashioned crane will appear in next issue.

The Early Schools of Niagara.

Read before the Ontario Educational Association, April 1897,

My subject is the Early Schools of Niagara, but for that term I would claim a broader meaning than that generally accepted. Hugh Miller in his "Schools and Schoolmasters" goes far beyond the schoolhouse and its pedagogue, as does also Dr. Hodgins in his "Documentary History of Education." We read of the school of adversity which gives a training found in no other school, and we all know what useful inventions have been produced by the school of necessity. Perhaps no place in Ontario has in its early history given greater scope for development of character from the peculiar surroundings, than Niagara. The most of those who came here were people of fixed ideas, who had suffered and were ready to suffer to maintain their opinions, subjected to a life of toil, war with the soil, with forest enemies both man and brute, and as the many influences which served to make Hugh Miller, the stalwart, honorable, thinking man into which he developed we may claim for the early inhabitants of the town and their children, peculiar influences which no doubt helped to develop certain traits of character. To conquer difficulties, to be obliged to be alert, watchful, on guard, to know that the soil we tread has been watered with the blood of our forefathers, that every turf may be or has been a "soldier's sepulchre," to rebuild the ruined homes, to see returning prosperity torn from our grasp, and stagnation again, all these have told, as well as the scholastic institutions of the town. Other educative influences may be referred to later on.

To go back a period of a hundred years ought not to be so difficult a task, but in this case it presents almost as insuperable difficulties as trying to piece out the

personal life of the great dramatist. How strange that while of many Romans who lived 2000 years ago, as of Pliny, we have letters and personal descriptions, of one who lived scarce three hundred years ago we have not a letter and only one, to him, and yet millions of people know him by his works, and so we find it difficult to obtain accounts of some of our early educators, so many records having been burnt in the war, so shifting has the population been from the many vicissitudes of the town, but by dint of newspaper items, here and there an extract from the Archives of Canada, some valuable old letters and documents, account books, the tales of the 'oldest inhabitant' who tells the story of his father, we are able to piece out a tolerably correct sketch of our Schools and Schoolmasters, it must be confessed with gaps here and there which it is hoped may be yet filled, now that our Historical Societies have really set to work in earnest. There were private schools, garrison schools, the district grammar school and the district school, church schools, separate schools, ladies' schools, classical schools, night schools, boarding schools, schools for colored children, dames' schools, the Fort school and many others. In the diary of Col. Clarke, father of Dr. Clarke of St. Catharines, he speaks of attending the garrison School at Fort Niagara in 1787; the fort was not given up to the Americans till 1796. When he came to the British side of the river, the best teacher he went to was Richard Cockerell, an Englishman, who we read opened a school at Niagara in 1797. In the newspaper of that date he advertises an Evening School, writing, arithmetic, book-keeping taught at four shillings a week. For teaching any branch of practical or speculative mathematics, eight dollars, hours from six to eight in the evening. In 1799 he removed to Ancaster, and in resigning thanks the public for their support, and recommends the Rev. Mr. Arthur, who teaches Latin and Greek, and will take a few young gentlemen to board.

The first provision made for Grammar School education in Upper Canada was by the Duke of Portland in 1797, but we find that sufficient credit has not been given to Governor Simcoe for the noble part he played in providing educational advantages for this new country. In different letters from Navy Hall, Niagara,

he had thought on the subject, and what strenuous efforts were made by him for this end. On 23rd Nov., 1792, in a letter to Secretary Dundas he speaks of a provision for the education of the rising generation and in 1793 to the Bishop of Quebec in asking for clergymen says that in his progress through the country he is told that the Sabbath is becoming unknown to their children, who are searching for amusements on the Lord's Day. Again in 1795 he urges the Duke of Portland thus: "In Niagara the want of a school is most visible. The Rev. Addison is willing to undertake it on same terms as Mr. Stuart at Kingston. In the reply of Portland, fancy the feelings of those asking for a school for their children, being told that the payment for a teacher ought to be very moderate, and that all the subjects necessary are reading, writing, accounts and mensuration, that those wishing to study Greek and Latin may go to Montreal, or Quebec or Nova Scotia. Were his ideas of the topography of Canada as hazy as those of some of our neighbors of the present day?"

In 1797 Mr. Jas. Blayney advertises a school in Niagara, and in 1798 the house of Mr. D. W. Smith is offered for sale for a free Grammar School for Home district, with four acres as endowment. Recommended in letter from Russel at York. This drags on, as in 1800 he offers a reduction of \$4,000 in price, and to take wild land in payment. The plan is opposed by Governor Hunter, one reason being given that the house is opposite Fort Niagara, and being in range of the guns from F. N., is in too exposed a position. In 1802 Mr. and Mrs. Tyler, between Niagara and Queenston advertise a regular day and night school, "children from four, both sexes, price in proportion to the kind of instruction, reading, writing and arithmetic taught, for young ladies all that is necessary for their sex to appear decently and be useful in the world and in all that concerns housekeeping. Mrs. Tyler, having been bred in the line of mantua making, will receive and do her endeavors to execute her work in the neatest manner;" an advertisement really more comprehensive than at first sight it appears. In the record book of St. Andrew's Church, commencing 30th Sept., 1794, there are frequent references to teachers in connection with the church, thus: "Sept. 2nd, 1802, the Rev. Jno.

Young, from the city of Montreal, was engaged at one hundred pounds, Halifax currency, and a dwelling house, also to have the teaching of a school exclusive of his salary as a preacher of the gospel." On 13th April, 1805, resolved, "that this meeting do tully authorize and empower the persons that may be nominated as aforesaid to offer as a salary for three years to a preacher, the sum of seventy-five pounds of lawful money of Upper Canada, provided he may be induced to teach thirteen scholars in the Latin, Greek and Mathematics." Why thirteen we do not know. In 1802 it is proposed to erect an Academy in the town, and in 1803 we read that R. Cockerell had an excellent mathematical school at Niagara. E. A. Talbot, who writes on State of Education, in 1818 says there are only two schools of any note in Upper Canada, that of Strachan and Cockerell, which is high praise for the latter.

In a letter from Simcoe to Dundas, April 28, 1792 written from Quebec, he proposes two school masters at £100 each, one at Kingston and the other at Niagara, this before he had reached his future capital, and while living there planned for schools in the province. In 1797 steps were taken in Parliament to establish four Grammar Schools and a University, the schools to be at Cornwall, Kingston, Newark, Sandwich, and the University at York, now Toronto. By an act passed in 1807, £100 was to be allowed for each district. Niagara is the fourth oldest High School in the province, having been founded in 1808, the three first being Cornwall, Kingston and York, founded in 1807. It has been called by different names, first, the Niagara District Grammar School; next, Niagara County Grammar School; next, Senior County Grammar School, on this the Rev. T. Philipps always insisted, then Niagara High School. The seal has these words: Niagara County Grammar School, established 1808, incorporated 1853, and has on it the figures of a globe, telescope, quill pen, inkbottle, bell. It may be said that in later days, in a certain sense the existence of many of the small High Schools, depended on the Niagara High School, as when a bill was about to pass through the legislature which would have swept many of them out of existence, the Hon. S. H. Richards who was in the

Cabinet, and was the member for Niagara, seeing that his constituency would lose its High School, had such changes made in the bill as would prevent this, and thus many others were saved, "Honor to whom honor is due." It is believed the Rev. Jno. Burns, Presbyterian minister, was the first teacher. He preached in St. Andrew's Church and sometimes at Stamford, from 1805 to 1818, at intervals, as his name appears on the record book in 1805, 9, 10, 11, 16, 17, 18. Till lately there were several living who were his pupils both before and after the war of 1812. He was taken prisoner and it is said preached to his captors. A sermon preached by him on the 3rd January, 1814, on a day proclaimed by the Governor as Thanksgiving, in Stamford church shows powers of reasoning, a sturdy loyalty, sound scholarship and deep christian feeling. In the sermon, the text of which is Prov. 14, 21, he quotes the brave words of Nehemiah, "Be not afraid of them, remember the Lord who is great and terrible, and fight for your brethren, your sons and your daughters, your wives and your houses." To the Lundy's Lane Historical Society we are indebted for this, as they have reprinted it as one of their pamphlets. The late Judge Burns was the son of this old Niagara teacher and preacher.

Now comes, as might be expected, almost a blank of several years. We learn that during the war the schools were closed and while it is easy to see that in 1813 when the town was in the hands of the Americans, the British around in a circle, skirmishes occurred frequently, and in 1814 the people scattered in all directions, when a heap of ruins represented the homes from which had gone forth the children to the schools referred to, the records were lost and several years must elapse before schools would again be in operation. The Rev. Thos. Creen came in 1820, opened a private school, and afterwards the Niagara District Grammar School, next becoming the Rector of St. Mark's, but first the assistant to Rev. R. Addison. He was an excellent classical scholar, an Irishman, but educated at Glasgow University. He was also at a later date a trustee and an examiner of teachers. He taught many who afterwards became distinguished men, as Miles O'Reilley, Judge Burns, Judge Miller, Senator Dickson, Thos.

and W. Fuller, several of these pupils placed a handsome tablet to his memory in St. Mark's Church. In the year 1823 there were eighty-five names on the register of the school, while in 1827 from the existence of two rival schools and the removal of a regiment, the number was only eighteen.

In the Niagara Gleaner, June 23rd, 1823, appears the following item, Niagara District Grammar School Examination. The following trustees were present and expressed their approval of the manner in which the different branches were taught, the increasing number of pupils and the progress made : Wm. Dickson, Rev. Robt. Addison, Rev. W. Leeming, Robt. Ker, J. Muirhead, Ralfe Clench. The school was to re-open on 7th July, we thus see that the holidays lasted little over two weeks, and through the sultry days of July and August the school work went on. On July 3rd, 1824, there is an account of an examination, at which the same trustees were present with the addition of Rev. Turuey, (Army Chaplain) and Hon. Wm. Claus, and pleasure is expressed at the progress made. The number of pupils was forty, of whom four were studying Xenophon; five, Horace and Cicero; three, Virgil and Sallust; eighteen, history and Geography; twelve, grammar and arithmetic; and three reading and writing. The Latin classes were put through their drill by the Rev. Robert Addison, who seemed quite at home. He must then have been an old man. In 1824 Rev. T. Creen appears as Secretary of Common School Trustees. In 1823 had appeared a petition of the Common School teachers of the Niagara District, complaining of want of payment of their salaries, and the proceedings in the Legislature in consequence are recorded. In the Gleaner for 1826, Aug 12th, is this notice. "We have been requested by the Rev. Thos. Creen to state to the public that his school would be open for the instruction of youth, on Monday. 14th August. In the same paper there is the advertisement of Rev. Mr. Hancock, A.B., graduate of Trinity College, Dublin. informing the public that he had opened an Academy for the instruction of youth in Greek, Latin. etc., at Butler's Barracks. He was Assistant Chaplain to the forces at Niagara. Besides this, in the next year there is an advertise-

ment by Rev. Jas. Fraser, minister of the Presbyterian congregation that he proposes to open a class for the various branches pertaining to the Literary professions. It would seem from this that there must have been at that date three schools in Niagara, where the study of classics was pursued. We who remember the day when mathematics was *the* important study, and who also remember that in the words quoted by our President, "a king arose who knew not Joseph," and English was given a more important place, recall with interest the days when Homer and Horace reigned supreme.

In 1823 in an advertisement, "Mr. Creen, District School, speaks of the prosperous condition and is about to employ an assistant, teaches Latin, Greek, Hebrew, English Grammar, Geography, Mathematics. A few pupils genteelly accommodated with boarding. Jan., 1823, report of Niagara District School, hopes in rather grandiloquent style "that literatures at once the blessing and ornament of society will flourish here with increasing bloom and shine in its generous lustre." To open 7th July. We also find some excellent rules by Board of Education for Niagara Schools, Barron's 500 questions on New Testament are used in the Sunday School, and also in the District Grammar School.

Leaving this school we now turn to some other schools in the town. Besides that institution taught by Mr. Cockerell (which was at one time in a block house, the charge being one dollar a month) who is described as being very strict and who taught till 1806, and was succeeded by Mr. Hughes, there was a school taught by Mr. John Wray, described as a little old man by those who remember him, he died in 1846 at an advanced age, having been the clerk of St. Mark's Church for forty years. There was a school taught by Mr. McKie who was a classical scholar, this was a private school after the war, and his wife taught fancy work.

The school in connection with St. Andrew's church was continued till 1843. An advertisement in the Gleaner, Dec. 1717, reads thus: "Saturday, 3rd day of January next is the day appointed for the annual meeting of the Presbyterian congre-

gation in the town, to be held in the school house at 12 o'clock. At the same time will be produced the accounts of monies received and expended in building the schoolhouse. This building seems to have been used before the war as a school house, and after the war, on Sunday for divine worship, and for Sunday school, and on week days for a school, the upper part at one time having been used for the colored children. In 1840, at the annual meeting of the congregation, 'Resolved, that the trustees and members of the Kirk Session be the committee for the management of the school kept by Mr. Jas. Webster, in the school house on church lots.' On Jan. 1st, 1842, the Rev. Robert McGill made some statement regarding the act passed at the late session of the Provincial legislative, and pointed out the manner in which the trustees of the school in connection with the church might avail themselves of its provisions. Resolved, "that it is desirable to maintain the school under the management of the church trustees, Mr. Heron was appointed to wait upon Mr. Webster to ascertain how far he is disposed to put himself in dependence upon the provisions for common schools."

And now we turn, to what we can find of the backbone of our educational system. There have been several references to the Common School before. On the 9th Sept., 1826, there is a letter in the Gleaner strongly advocating the erection of a Public School house, as the population of the town then was 1,200, and they had an able teacher in Mr. Thomson. In 1827 the province had been divided into eleven Districts, with provision for a classical school in each, and for schools in each Township. On June 2nd, 1827, appears the following certificate, signed by Thos. Creen, and Thos. Hancock, A.B. 'We have great pleasure in testifying to the ability and fitness, etc., of the teacher of the Niagara Common School, Mr. David Thomson. These are the classes, Writing, Arithmetic, Grammar, four, Orthography, Reading, Writing, eight, Orthography Reading, six, Book Keeping, two, total twenty-five, and that Messrs. Heron, Kay and Varey had been duly elected Trustees of the District Common School. The fees were, after March 28th, Reading and Orthography 2s. 6d., or 50c., with writing added 62½cts., and

with arithmetic 75cts. per month. A sparkle of color is given to these dry records, which pleases us much. Feb. 23rd, 1827, account of a collection that had been taken up from the pupils of Mr. Thomson's school in aid of the distressed Greeks, amount raised, 11s. 1½d. This it will be remembered was the year of the battle of Navarino, and now after seventy years, the generous deed of these Niagara school children is recalled, as we are sending away our contributions to the Armenians, oppressed and barbarously treated by the same unspeakable Turk, but now the nations do not rise up as then to help the weak. The teacher referred to was the same David Thompson who wrote a history of the war of 1812, Captain Thompson of the King's 8th, who fought in the war.

Among the names of early teachers are those of Mr. Rolston and Crombie. An account of some of the punishments of those days would make our present pupils stare in wonder and amaze. It is recorded of one teacher of the town that he struck a boy on the head with a round ruler, one inch in diameter. The boy fell to the floor insensible, and was carried out to the snow to revive. It is pleasing to know that the big boys of the school then did what so rejoiced the heart of the honest Yorkshireman, when Nicholas Nickleby so effectually "bate the schoolmaster." The teacher then removed to Stamford, where his next feat was as a punishment, to shut up a little girl in the oven, and was sent away in consequence. At a later day still, in another school, a pupil on his return from school was asked the question so frequent in those days, where you whipped to-day? "Yes, I was whipped, but Mary (his sister) was kissed." The teacher had left the room leaving a monitor to give the names of all who spoke, and the teacher coming to the little girl whose name had been given, instead of the dreaded tawse, stooped down and kissed the astonished child.

At this time it was customary to grant scholarships to the Grammar school, which were given for three years to the best pupils in the Common and Separate Schools, the latter having at this time a very able teacher; one of the cleverest pupils sent was the late Father John Kennedy who was drowned some years ago.

A circular issued seems to demand what we would now con-

sider a work of supererogation, it is a system of Bible distribution by the teachers of the Niagara District, 1817, a circular of direction so paternal that it would be opposed now, signed by Ralfe Clench, to inquire by going from house to house if the settlers possess a Bible and in what condition, if not able to pay, name to be sent to Samuel Street, at the Falls Mills, Sec., of Niagara Bible Society. Also form of report of Trustees and Teacher's Certificate to receive salary, very different from that of to-day, merely that he has taught the school for six months, is a British subject, had not less than twenty scholars and has demeaned himself to our satisfaction. Signed by three Trustees and directed to the Treasurer of the District of Niagara. There are also rules for government of Common Schools in District of Niagara, ten in number, as succinctly said by Dr. Hodgins, compared with the comprehensiveness and elaborateness of today those of eighty years ago make up for their lack in this respect, by their clearness and brevity.

No. 1. The master to commence the labors of the day by a short prayer.

No. 4. Corporeal punishment seldom necessary except for bad habits learned at home, lying, disobedience, obstinacy, these sometimes require chastisement, but gentleness even in these cases would do better with most children.

No. 5. All other offences arising chiefly from liveliness and inattention are better corrected by shame, such as gaudy caps, placing the culprits by themselves, not admitting any one to play with them for a day or days, detaining them after school hours or during a play afternoon and by ridicule.

No. 7. The forenoon of Wednesday and Saturday to be set apart for Religious Instruction, to render it agreeable, the school should be furnished with at least ten copies of Barron's Questions on the New Testament. The teacher to have one copy of the Key to these questions for his own use.

No. 8. The afternoon of Wednesday and Saturday to be allowed for play.

No. 9. Every day to close with reading publicly a few verses of the New Testament, proceeding regularly through the gospels

The propriety of rule five would be called in question at our Training Schools of to-day ; certainly the framers of the rules do not seem to have had much faith in the scriptural knowledge of their teachers.

Unfortunately the Secretary's records of the Niagara Schools in early days can not be found, but just lately in an old trunk was discovered a document containing interesting information relating to the District School in 1832-3. It appears from this that His Excellency the Lieut-Governor, then Lord Colborne, appointed the Trustees and advised with them as to appointment of teachers. At a meeting of the Trustees just appointed by him, viz : Rev. Thos. Creen, Rev. R. McGill, Jas. Muirhead, Robt. Melville G. M. McCormack, R. Dickson, Wm. Clarke, W. D. Miller, Geo. Ball, nineteen resolutions were passed with regard to building of Seminary, large enough for apartments for masters and a large number of boarders, £500 had been granted by Trustees of Market Square, and £250 additional obtained. The teacher was to be selected for literary and moral qualification without regard to denomination. The Governor had granted five acres near Fort Mississagua, the school was then held near the Market Buildings. Permission was asked to appoint another teacher, and the Governor says it will not be necessary to go to the Mother Country as proposed, but that a competent teacher may be found in Canada. It is singular, that though different attempts were thus made from 1798 to secure a building, that no permanent building was obtained till 1860 for the Public School, and 1875 for the High School.

The oldest building now standing which served as a school house in Niagara was lately the property of Mr. Ibson. Herein 1827, and for many years, Miss Young taught a large Private School. The old fashioned fire-place with its crane may still be seen. The stone barracks, now the Masonic Hall, Rogers brick building, the brick building owned by the late Dr. Ker have all been used by the High or Public School in past years.

Among the teachers of Niagara perhaps the most striking personality is Dr. John Whitelaw, who taught the Grammar School from 1830 to 1851. He was a good classical

scholar and from the impression received from talking with some of his old pupils, must have been an able teacher and a christian gentleman. His son John was at one time his assistant, a young man of great promise, who died at an early age, the lectures he delivered on Chemistry, and the experiments in which he was assisted by his pupils are yet remembered. It is one of my early recollections, seeing nitrous oxide or laughing gas, administered by him in the lecture room, and the disastrous effects in one case. The love of science must have been shared by the father and son, for we find that Dr. Whitelaw taught in Kingston in 1814, and gave lectures in Chemistry, Mineralogy and Geology while master of the Kingston Grammar School. Junius, in Kingston Gazette, deplores the loss to Kingston boys, and mentions equations, geometry, trigonometry, Latin and Greek, a course of thirty - six lectures, three every week, admission three guineas for the course. In 1819 his successor is spoken of, and we know from, an address of Sir Oliver Mowat, that he practiced medicine in Kingston, having been the medical adviser of his father's family. Here is a reminiscence from an old scholar : "when Brennan was hanged at the Niagara jail we boys did not know any better than to get up a petition for a holiday, one boy wrote it, from the dictation of another, while a third presented it. Such a lecture we received, I shall never forget, our conduct was a sure proof of total depravity and original sin. The next day we went to school but the old doctor was ill, whether he had taken our conduct so to heart we did not know, we had the coveted holiday, but I question if any of us went to see the execution. He was very particular in, as he called it, giving us a "thorough grounding" in Latin and Greek, sometimes attained by painful methods.

The same old pupil describes the room as having a wooden partition, one stove which very imperfectly heated the room being half in one room, half in the other. There were about forty scholars, many of them from the regiment stationed here. There were morning and evening prayers. The Bible was read in both Common and Grammar Schools by the pupils.

The Rev. T. Philipps taught the Grammar School from 1852

to 1861, and had a large boarding school forming quite a procession marching to St. Mark's on Sunday morning. Rev. T. D. Philipps of Chicago, his son the famous cricket player, was his assistant. The pupils were very successful in passing University Examinations. The buildings in which the school has been held have been as various as the teachers. In early days the block house, the stone barracks and many others before the present brick building was erected, not without a long struggle for the result of which the late Rev. Chas. Campbell of Toronto deserves much credit. Four of the teachers have had a long term of office, Rev. Jno. Burns, Dr. Whitelaw, Rev. T. Philipps and Mr. Andrews. Among the punishments was one which may be considered questionable now, viz: to commit to memory a chapter of the Bible, another law was that when detained after school with work to be done, the teacher sometimes leaving the room, if one brave leader ran away, all the others might go, and the one who left first, alone was punished. It was considered a brave self sacrificing thing to do, by subjecting oneself to severe punishment, thus procuring the freedom of the others, and he who did it was a sort of hero.

A reminiscence given by a colored woman of her school life in Niagara must not be forgotten. "The first school I went to was to a yellow man called Herbert Holmes—Hubbard Holmes our people called him, oh, he was severe, they were then you know, but he was a fine man, had been educated by a gentleman in Nova Scotia. He used to drill the boys and when holiday time came he would march us all in twos to a grocery kept by a black woman and treat us all to bull's eyes and gingerbread. Holidays were not two months as they are now, but two weeks, I went to a black man upstairs in the schoolhouse of the Scotch Church, the room was full, full of children, the benches were slabs with the flat side up and the bark of the tree down, with round sticks put in slanting for legs. The children all studied aloud and the one that made the most noise was the best scholar in those days. Then I went to a Miss Brooks from Oberlin College in 1838-9. She was sickly and died of consumption, oh what hard times she had with some of the boys, bad, rough ones. But Herbert

Holmes was a hero, he died in trying to save a black man from slavery."

The tragic and heroic death of this Niagara teacher I have told elsewhere, but some reference must be made to it here. An escaped slave was to be returned to the United States authorities on the charge of stealing his master's horse in escaping, but the teacher and exhorter organized a party of several hundred colored people to surround the gaol and rescue him when taken out. For ten days or more the blockade was kept up and Herbert Holmes was shot dead while holding the horses' head to let the prisoner escape. This was in 1837, and his drilling the boys may have had some result, as a company of black men from Niagara was formed and was on duty at the Falls during the Rebellion, aiding the government which had given them a refuge.

In the Niagara Chronicle, Jan 1847, is told, "that the census just taken gives a population of 3058, there are 792 children between 5 and 15, of these 300 attend the five common schools, respectively conducted by Mr. Shaw, Mr. Thomson, Miss Eedson, Miss M. A. Eedson and Mrs. Wilson. There is a dissenting common school established by our fellow townsmen of the Roman Catholic faith, the attendance of which must be large. In addition to these there are three institutions for a higher order of learning, viz., the District Grammar School, conducted by Dr. Whitelaw, assisted by Mr. Logan; the classical school of Rev. Dr. Lundy, and the Ladies' School of the Misses Burgess, also the flourishing private elementary school of Miss Read. An assistant is now engaged for the junior branches in Mr. Shaw's school. This was Mr. Jas. Dunn who afterwards became Principal, and also a highly successful High School teacher in Elora, Welland, etc., and must not be forgotten.

Mr. Jno. Crooks who taught an early Sunday School, and as a Sunday School library had tracts carefully covered and distributed. This Sunday School was the first in town and was between the years 1820 and his death in 1833. Another educator deserves honorable mention, and I have the less hesitation in referring to him since Dr. Hodgins in his Documentary History of Education in Upper Canada does so.

Although not a teacher in the ordinary sense of the term, it may be claimed for Andrew Heron, the originator of the Niagara Public Library, founded in 1800, that he was a teacher in the best sense of the term.

Another educative force may be mentioned, besides the libraries of Rev. Robert Addison, those of St. Andrew's church and the Mechanics Institute. Many books were printed in Niagara, some of an educational character. Andrew Heron reprinted Mavor's spelling book in 1824, and in 1841 was issued Davidson's Spelling Book. From Dr. Hodgins' Documentary History of Education we learn that Alexander Davidson was a teacher in Port Hope, and applied to Parliament in 1831 for authorization for his spelling book. From the advertisement it seems comprehensive, containing outlines of geography, grammar, religious lessons, morning and evening prayers and hymns, and a long recommendation of it appears in the *Christian Guardian*. In the *Niagara Chronicle* for 1842 are letters of recommendation from Rev. Robt. McGill, Rev. T. Creen, Rev. A. N. Bethune.

John Simpson published the *Canadian Forget-me-Not*, printed at the Reporter office, and from the Mail office the first long poem of Mr. Kirby, F.R.S.C., called the *U.E.* was issued containing descriptions of Canadian life and scenery, still unsurpassed in Canadian poetry. In the advertisement of Andrew Heron, as bookseller, we see that the study of classics was not neglected, Eton grammars, Ainsworth's Dictionary, Caesar, Ovid, Sallust, Lampriere's Classical Dictionary, Valpy's *Delectus*, Homer's, *Iliad* and many others.

The ladies' schools must not be forgotten. One narrator tells us of a Mrs. Radcliffe, in 1820, who taught the harp and piano; another mentions a young girl, Miss Birdsley, who was a good Latin scholar, having been taught by a Mr. McPherson. Some of the advertisements are amusing, with the rules and regulations, subjects taught, etc. In the *Niagara Herald* for 1830 is the advertisement of Niagara Seminary for young ladies, taught by Mrs. Fenwick and Mrs. Breckenridge, day scholars and boarders. The school of the Misses Crooks is often spoken of, also the large boarding school of the Misses Millard. Besides the names

given before, as pupils taught in the early schools of Niagara, may be mentioned Judge Baxter, Judge Miller, Hon. Arch. McKellar, Judge Campbell. Hon. J. G. Currie, Rev. F. Trew, Judge Kingsmill, Jas. M. Dunn, L.L.B., F. Harkness, A. Niven, P.L.S., Chas. Hunter. Dignity is given to the schools of Niagara by the many points of their history, which also touch the history of the country, and the important part played by many of the early teachers in the history of the place..

Many amusing stories could be told of the snowballing matches, between the Public and Separate Schools, not quite so exciting nor so bloody as that described so graphically by Sir Walter Scott in the streets of Edinburgh with Green Breeks. Other contests between the town boys and the dock boys were perhaps as exciting in their day as those in the English Universities between Form and Gown. It is recalled of one of the dock boys that when some town boys were sent out to bring him in to school as a truant, the report came back to the horrified pupils that he was standing in defiance of monitors and master with a pile of brickbats collected to do execution on any assailing force. It is not proposed to refer to the schools of a later day, or the changes from the severe methods, corporeal punishment, the dreaded public examinations, the prize books, to the changed curriculum, the presence of girls in the High Schools, the change from the excessive memorizing, etc. While we must naturally exalt the present and acknowledge the merits of our school system, and what we owe to Dr. Ryerson and Hon. Geo. Ross we need not depreciate the past, as some are so fond of doing. When hearing the boasting over some supposedly new idea, and the condemnation of any other system, we often wonder how the old system produced such grand men of such solid attainments, and we bow our heads in humility, and salute the pedagogues of the past, acknowledging that they often did conscientious, excellent work, and we humbly wish that our work of to-day may stand as well the test of the search-light of the future, as we see that theirs has done ; that our work may, as it is claimed is the true work of the teacher, enable the human souls under us to reach unto the divine.

In extending congratulations to the Historical Association

it may be well to ask what would be lost to the world were all history blotted out? How much should we miss if from all literature were erased the record of brave deeds, of heroic struggles, of all the battles, whether with mailed warriors, or the giant, selfishness under all its multiform shapes. Let all the history of these brave deeds be blotted out, still more, let all the literature inspired by them be destroyed. We shall have no Homer and no references to Homer, no poems formed on the great epic, no Arthurian legends, no exquisite amplification of these legends by Tennyson in the *Idylls of the King*, no *Evangeline*, no heroic story of William the Silent as told by Motley, no story of Laura Secord by Mrs. Curzon, no heroic story of Joan of Arc, nor of Moses facing the mighty King of Egypt to free his people, nor of the little ruddy David before the great Goliath. Fancy blotted out of existence the tales of the Great Magician of the North, and thus the exquisite pleasure derived from reading these tales. The story of Leonidas at Thermopylae resisting to death that immense host and the inscription, "Go tell our countrymen that we lie here in obedience to her laws," no tumulus at Marathon to tell of a few bravely fighting against such odds, no story of Grace Darling, nor Daulac and his sixteen brave companions devoting themselves to certain death to keep back the Indian foe, no story of the Maiden Martyr of Scotland's salt sea sands, chained to a stake while the tide came slowly rolling in, no story of the stern discipline of those brave soldiers on the Birkenhead saving the women and children and going down to a watery grave with a ringing British cheer. And then the patriotic songs sometimes struck out on the anvil of a nation's agony, as "The Southern Flag," or "Scots wha hae wi' Wallace bled," no ballads such as Horatius who kept the bridge in the brave days of old; no story of Abigail Becker, and her brave deed of "seven men to save," no column surmounted by the heroic figure pointing to the grand panoramic view from Queenston Heights. Still more let us suppose all the lessons taught by those heroic deeds unlearned, and unperformed all the brave deeds inspired by the reading of the past in emulation of heroes of other days, How bald, and poor, and tame, would be our literature, what gaps in the eloquent orations

and appeals which have inspired men to greatness. What a blank should we find in verse and prose, where now there is such wealth of illustration and allusion. In discussing the prominence to be given to different subjects in the curriculum, let it always be remembered that history as an educator is an important factor, and it is earnestly hoped that this and other Historical Societies may do a great work in developing a spirit of patriotism, a love of Canadian literature and all that can ennoble our young country.

JANET CARNOCHAN.



DEBIT AMOR PATRIAE.

NO. 7.

The Centennial—An Old Canadian Fort,

By Rev. J. C. Garrett.

Locust Grove, Residence of Mrs. J. W. Ball,

By C. A. F. Ball.

Two Frontier Churches—Fort Mississagua—Navy Hall—
Jail and Court House—French Count's House,

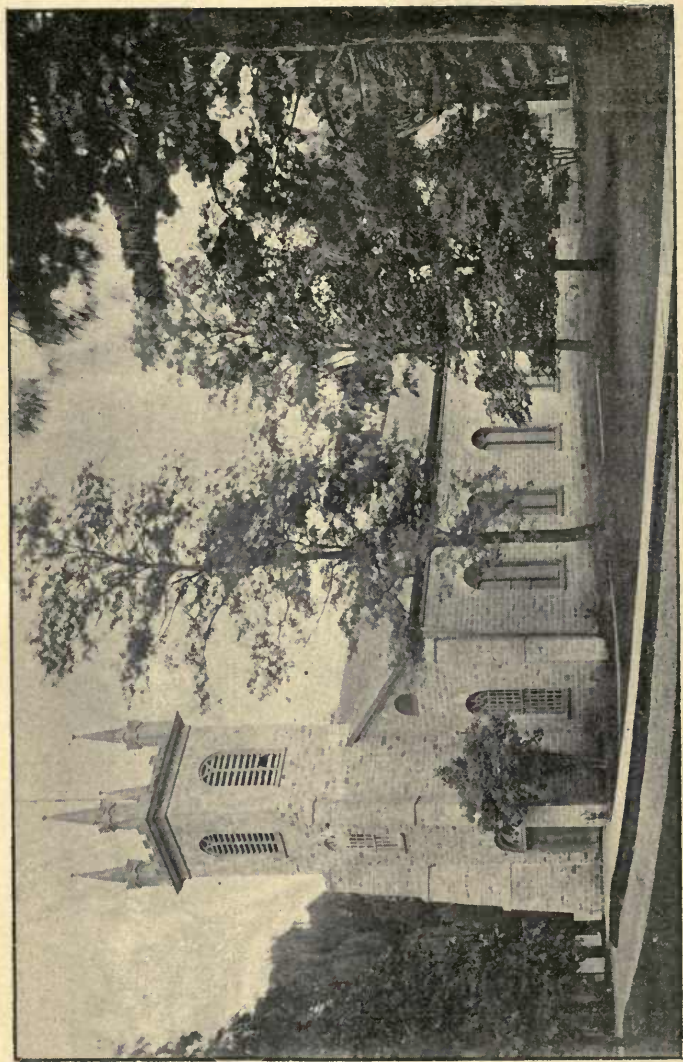
By Janet Carnochan.

PRICE 20 CENTS.

THE TIMES
BOOK & JOB PRESSES.
NAGARA, ONT.

PREFACE,

IN presenting the seventh of the series of publications of the Niagara Historical Society the hope is expressed that it may meet with the favor extended to previous issues. It is a continuation of the Historic Houses begun in No. 5, and we hope to still continue the series. The "Centennial Poem" and "Two Frontier Churches" have been reprinted by request. The illustrations, some of which have appeared before, and others which have been engraved specially for this issue, will, it is hoped, add to the interest of the pamphlet. Any information adding to our historic lore will be gladly received.



St. Mark's Church, Niagara.

1792,

1892.

The Centennial,

Written on the Centenary of St. Mark's Church, Niagara

BY

THE REV. J. C. GARRETT.

DEDICATION.

TO ALL WHO HAVE IN ANY WAY BEEN RELATED TO

OLD ST. MARKS,

WHEREVER FOUND TO-DAY,

THESE LINES ARE RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

*Hail! all Hail! dear old St. Mark's!
We greet thee joyfully, and well
Upward thy Praise. As Sky-larks
Sing, o'er field and wooded dell,
Far up in heaven's own blue,
We, too, would sing thy fame,
And tell abroad thy name
Of worth and honor true.
Ring! Ring! loud and merry bell!
And thou, great organ, thunder too!
Wide open every swell!
Join every voice anew,
Out on the morning air, to tell
Thy story true and well,
On this thy day Centennial!*

The Centennial.

I.

O SACRED PILE ! Thine age thou bearest well !
Over Niagara's harbor, at Ontario's head,
Between Forts George and Mississauga dread,
A hundred years thou hast stood sentinel.
Where, standing still, as beacon on a hill,
Far out from haven, thy square tower we view ;
Above whose summit, higher rising still,
Waves in the breeze our flag—Red, White and Blue—
For Churchmen true are loyal everywhere ;
Who to the State gave being, ever bear
Upon their hearts its interests with a will.
Nor loyalty, if in thy precincts fair
It be not found : to king and country true,
Our sires, than power, or fame, or glittering gold,
Honor esteemed, which must to country hold
Their sons and thine, and other loves dispel,
By ties of living and the bonds of dead.

II.

Grand old St. Mark's ! he treads on hallowed ground,
Who over thy gates' threshold sets his foot ;
For all around thy witnesses, though mute,
By life and death its sacredness profound
Proclaim. Blended in thee is found the dust
Of soldier brave and sailor bold, the wise,
Poet. patriot, priest and humbler just,
Waiting the day and call again to rise.
Rest they together in a peace most true,
In hidden spot or place more clear to view ;
'Neath Christian sign, or heathen urn or crust
Of marble pale, which tastes of times devise,
That yet a coming time could never suit.

But yet what matters such, when loves entwine,
And rise beyond the shade of earthly sign,
And but the clay lies resting 'neath the mound?

III.

If there be place, within our earth's confines
Than other place more sacred, sweet and pure,
(No other's more of love and honor sure,
How far soever we may stretch the lines),
It is this place, where, from turmoil secure,
Our simple praises rise an upward stream,
Till glows the heart, as when the captives dream
Of lands, where freedom's sun forever shines ;
And when the Heavenly mysteries are spread,
Aged by Aged to God's board is led—
Most saintly men, whose earthly duty done,
Look towards the land of never-setting sun—
In verity, it makes thee sweetly seem
The gate of heaven and pathway to our Head.
While all around us lie, in peaceful sleep
Our best beloved, who used with us to keep
Sad vigil and the joyful holy-day,
Whose souls o'er Jordan winged from us away,
That they some foretaste of that joy might reap,
Which we with them to share both hope and pray,
Sweetness itself thou art ! Thy life in Him
We prove in prayer, in praise, and rite ; though dim
Our view, our faith is clear, and brighter love.
And prayer thus joined to solemn chant and hymn,
In thee below, we rise to things above :
Our treasure there, though still our hearts are here ;
Yet our affection is as sure on high ;
For love of thee foreshadows as we move,
The coming love, for which we often sigh,
Which shall be ours, when we have victory won ;

And from each face Himself shall wipe last tear—
The God so distant, yet, in Christ, more nigh
Than even thou, the fabric held so dear !

IV.

High on the bank. 'mid beauteous setting *
Of feathery willow, chestnut-tree and pine,
By which the river flows, as if forgetting
Its leap sublime ; its seething, swirling, fretting ;
Its rush and roar, adown the steep decline ;
The deep and massy goblet, never quaffed,
Held in His hidden hand, Who made and lined
It of a russet hue, with gold unfinied ;
And yet around which demons oft have laughed,
If helpless victim drawn adown its shaft
To them give joy, whose depths we cannot sound ;
Within whose lips the water, bright blue-green,
With foam-flecked surface as each age has seen,
Must wind and whirl as though the gods had spoon
Deep plunged therein, and stirred in turn from e'en
Till midnight, then to morn, anon to noon,
And yet to night again—repeating round
And round within its awful circle's bound :
Anon in sober majesty to flow,
In stately grandeur now its way to find
Into Ontario's arms, which round it twine,
As if, at length, embrace of mother sweet,
Returning child, after adventurous feat,
With welcome, eager happily did greet ;
Of both the love and life—so it appears—
To make complete and back on thee to throw
Their happiness, in such bright, golden glow
As rests on faces which have done with tears,
Thou hast been placed Centurion of years.

V.

Away down yonder, at thy feet below,
Where breezes raise the swell, and onward waft
Beyond the bar, where danger's stealthiest
Steps pursue, to rob us of our very best
As to their sorrow our poor hearts well know—
For by thy door we read their tale of woe—
On the lake's heaving bosom may be seen,
Between and on some white and foamy crest,
Like silvered fold on robe of pale blue-green,
Well manned by such as little know of fears,
All hidden now, anon each one appears,
The fisher-boats ; beyond which, farther far,
Curling from funnel of great steaming craft,
A wide diffused feather hangs abaft
Where it ascends, spreading away behind
Horizon ward, where melts it into sheen—
A long grey streamer floating on the wind.
And other ships, with sails on every spar,
On which beat hearts of many an honest tar,
Swiftly they speed, some haven sweet to find,
Saluting passers-by with mirthful cheers,
Anigh the harbour and within the bay,
And thou dost watch them, near and far away,
As still thou standest this Centennial Day.

VI.

These on the water. On the sandy beach,
With unprotected feet and pail and spade,
And dresses above knees to readier wade,
Near by and all the sandy shore along,
Their little ships securely held to sail,
The children play ; while fishers mend their net
and reel it up, with whistling and gay song

To help. Where find more happy, gleeful throng ?
Their cheeks like roses of a brownish shade,
Laid on a groundwork soft as peach's bloom,
And eyes, like jewels in some setting pale,
Outflashing joy without a shade of gloom—
Roses and eyes are they, a prize to get !
And now their shouts and laughter our ears reach,
Of innocence, the joyful sound and speech ;
In their sweet hearts for guile is yet no room ;
A hundred years here passing, looking yet,
Continued, still is going on thy tale.

VII.

But landward look ! See lying all around,
As with their fragrance all the air is fraught,
So sweet and peaceful on enchanted ground,
Peach-tree and vine, quince, plum and apricot,
Pear-tree and apple, all everywhere abound.
The early violet, late forget-me-not,
June rose and autumn, too ; laburnum's gold,
Accacia purply fair, and other blow
Follow along, until the spring is old,
Of deeper hue or white as driven snow,
Bringing such thoughts as prove, though it be cold,
Love ever lives, and needs but cherishing,
Amidst which standing, thou time-honored pile,
Thy life sublime still by them nourishing,
The pride of which to our cheeks brings a glow ;
Inanimate indeed, yet living all the while,
As to and fro in group and single file,
Men come and go, or swiftly or but slow ;
And whither ? Who can tell us ? Who can know ?
Living to-day—to-morrow perishing !
Yet still thou watchest the great river's flow !

VIII.

Still standest thou, and nigh as fresh and fair
 As those who, blushing, came to thee as brides
 Long years ago ; and still thy grace we laud,
 Though faded theirs. Scene of many a story
 Within thy sacred precincts has been viewed :
 In days of peaceful worship naught divides
 From thy true use ; yet did presumptuous dare,
 In day of war, in other nation's name,
 To claim thy shelter, and to change thy use,
 And desecrate surrounding tombs, nor shame
 To feel, Fragrant thine aisles of flowers there strewed,
 'Neath mourners' feet and feet of those who glory
 Bore—a throng of youth mature and hoary—
 Who came, who went, who yet return no more,
 Though ears in listening attitude have waited,
 Are waiting still, to hear them as of yore,
 Hoping they homeward travel though belated,
 Again to get the greeting of fond love—
 The greeting sweet to give them in return ;
 And eyes, too, strain out to the distance dim,
 While prayer goes upward to the throne above ;
 For, while life lasts, the holy fire must burn
 On love's high altar, and desire shall hymn,
 Each day, its fondness forth, then upward turn,
 In hopeful prayer unto the ear of Him
 Who heareth ever, Whose best name is Love,
 In Whom, though severed, yet are all related.
 Even now thy sacred walls and well-trod floor—
 Holy to us because of those who trod
 Thereon, who rest in peace to-day with God—
 Re-echo still each footstep to our ear ;
 Re-echo, too, in tones the while subdued,
 The lessons taught of truth and fortitude.
 Which make the burdens, that we still must bear,

The easier borne ; re-echo, too, the prayer—
Common to us as to them in their day—
Whose influence lives, though they have passed away ;
And principles, by which our sires imbued—
Like them to be, we well may hope and pray—
Made them, what now they ever shall appear,
Men that were MEN, whose bright, unsullied fame
Makes it our gladness to extol their name !
Yes, here they lived. and moved, and were endued
By that which only can be power—the fear
Of God—which them to Him, this land their king,
As truth itself made true ; whose honor ring
The future ages shall, and whose high praise,
So long as men have voice, the true shall sing ;
Long as the sun on man shall shed his rays,
For them thy sons to God thanksgiving raise !

IX.

The holy priests—quaint Addison, sweet Creen ;
McMurray honored sees thy present day—
Surrounded were, as stars in heaven are seen,
By lesser lights along the Milky-way.
Bravely they labored for the common good,
Nor unrepached of such as should sustain—
Saints live not here alone on angels' food ;
On rougher fare is fed their nobler name.
The path of virtue is a path of pain ;
Nor true is virtue where is never blame ;
For blame is fostered by the vicious rude ;
Nor lived the man who might no weakness claim,
Whatever height in grace he did attain.
My soul with theirs be joined, when, to the clay,
My body has been laid, like theirs, to rest !
Our dust, redeemed, at length shall waken blest,
And all made pure, as Christ doth make the heart.



Rev. W. McMurray, D.D.



Rev. J. C. Garrett.

To soul rejoin, as part to fitted part.
 Death, of this life, is but the crucial test—
 The final proof of our triumphal faith ;
 And thou art "found," as the apostle saith,
 "In Him," god-soul, Whose own thou surely art,
 Who serve in life, and praise with latest breath.
 They having proved His love's length, height ; its breadth
 And depth ; the beatific vision seen ;
 Ended, and well, their holy ministry—
 So well, thou art their monument, I ween !

X.

Thy youth renew, surrounded, as thou art,
 By such a host as round thee sleeping lie !
 Live still ! Connecting link for ages be,
 Of those who live, those from the body free.
 Alas ! poor mortals, we in turn must die !
 To-day lives none who saw thy welcome birth ;
 And who shall live thy final day to see ?
 Thy ended work and all completed worth ?
 Live ! Teach Thou still to all that better part
 In Him. Whose witness still thou dost abide ;
 And comfort sweet yet give to many a heart
 Before it cross death's dark and narrow firth !
 Continue, thou ! no matter what betide
 The ministers, who serve, in course, in thee !
 Live on ! For hearts be truest earthly home,
 Until to heavenly home at length they come !
 Chime thy sweet influence, afar and nigh,
 From thy pure centre, 'neath the heavenly dome !
 Live, though men die—a standing proof still be
 Of Catholic faith and Christian liberty !
 Out to the world God's love in Christ still ring,
 Until it echo from each mountain side !
 Live, love and lift to every holy thing,
 And ever prove the PALACE OF THE KING !

ADDRESSED TO
An Old Canadian Fort. *

BY REV. J. C. GARRETT.

Tell us, ye broken walls, speak out, ye fallen stones,
The story of that past which time doth shroud—
Swift wrecking time, which, deaf to all your groans,
By storm and tempest, sunshine, cloud,
Did scarify your body, without trowel,
Did cleave from your high head unflinching brow,
So nobly borne, in times both fair and foul,
Tell us, did war or peace your spirit bow?

Brave sons of France were they, the sea who crossed,
By aid of Aborigines you reared !
How was it then their cause and yours was lost,
When face of foeman you had never feared ?
When through the forest scarce a track was made,
And wily Indian must your soldiers guide,
Made offered chance his remnant honour fade ?
And did he sell you to the other side ?

*Fort Chambly, a military post on the river Richelieu, was originally built of wood by M. de Chambly, a retired captain of the regiment of Carignan Salieres, in 1665. It was often attacked by the Iroquois, was afterwards rebuilt of stone in 1771. In 1775 was captured by the Americans, but retaken in 1776. Its eventful history is thus vividly and picturesquely described as attacked in turn by French, Indian, British, American. The Rector of St. Mark's with such a subject writes sympathetically, ministering as he does in an historic church.

Who were the men that, from your summit, tore
The three-barred flag, which there so proudly waved?
I reckon, every stone with hallowed gore,
Of those who faced as guns and cannon raved,
Which true hearts for their King and country pour.
Was all bespattered, ere that standard fell,
And they, who it sustained, the fight gave o'er,
Who fought to lose both gallantly and well.

While rose the prayer as mass at noon was sung,
Or vesper song at even filled the air,
As bell, thrice tolled, most solemnly was rung,
Did rite, religious, augur dark despair?
If Holy Christ down on your altar came,
Making its tabernacle throne divine,
How dared the passion of heretic fame,
By weapons carnal, grace like this outshine?

So strange it seems while looking at you now,
That with such presence effort all proved vain;
Eternal strength and yours, so joined, allow
Such misdirected circumstantial train,
To culminate in climax of such doom,
As, scarred and broken, left you desolate;
Of perished love and cherished hate the tomb
As well as monument; alas! the fate!

Yet, better was it, after all, that change,
Through struggle, costly, came at weary length,
Which mingled in a peace, both great and strange.
The elements, which, blended, made the strength,
That needs not, now, protector's help from you,
But on your great decrepitude can look,
And feel from former terror freedom true,
And you as harmless as the near-by brook.

More lovely in your ruined fallen state,
Than when in pride your cruel cannon roared,
In hurling forth their sanguinary fate
On hearts as true as ever wielded sword :
The drowsy kine, asleep upon your floor,
Young swallows, peeping forth from many a nest.
Make truer beauty, than when warrior bore,
Within your walls, in pride of rank, plumed crest.

Hard by, in yonder mound, now sleep the dead,
Through whose veins swiftly coursed the martial fire ;
And worthy foeman, who of each had dread
Have long forgotten their unholy ire :
Their dust together rests, so well combined
That none could tell, that they had ever fought
Against each other, nor can be defined
Relic of friend or foe in that green spot.

Where emblem of the Christ each way an arm
Spreads, as in benediction, over all,
Assurance that no swift-winged, dread alarm
Can back to earthly carnage ever call :
Your ruin is, for them, blest monument ;
For us, the pledge of an united love,
In a true peace, which never shall be rent—
The eagle pinioned 'neath the outspread dove.

Nought say you ; yet your silence is loud speech—
So loud that o'er the din of rapids' roar,
In soul, is heard the lesson that you teach ;
Trusting time cometh, when vile war no more
Shall make the need of fortress high and strong,
When hand of brother in a brother's gore
No more shall be imbrued. God grant the long,
Sweet peace—the blissful evermore !

Two Frontier Churches.

BY JANET CARNOCHAN.

A paper read before the Canadian Institute at Niagara, on the 2nd of July, 1890.

It ought to be an interesting and instructive task to trace the history of these two churches of Niagara, St. Mark's and St. Andrew's dating almost a century back, the one 1792 the other 1794, and see how many links in the history of our town and even of our country can be filled in from those records, which give an ever shifting kaleidoscope of different nationalities, of pioneer life, of military occupation, of the red man Britain's faithful ally, of the poor slave here for the first time by any nation freed by legal enactment, of strenuous efforts for religious liberty by appeals to Governor and Queen, of sweet church bells, of booming cannons and blazing rooftrees.

The often-repeated sneer that Canada has no history has been so easily refuted in the case of our eastern provinces with their store of French chivalry and Saxon force, of missionary zeal and Indian barbarities, of fortresses taken and retaken, but still the phrase lingers with regard to Ontario. Surely, we in this Niagara peninsula lack nothing to disprove a statement which, to their shame, many among us allow to pass as if it were a truth. When we think that within the last two centuries four races have here fought for empire, that within sight of us are traces of the adventurous La Salle who traversed thousands of miles by sea and land to perish so miserably on the banks of the river of his search; when we think of this spot as an Indian camping ground, of the lilies of France yielding to our flag even before Wolfe's great vic-

tory, of the landing here of loyal men driven from their homes of plenty to hew out in the forests of this new land a shelter under the flag they loved, of invasion, and three years of bitter strife, surely we have a right to say we have a history.

In my attempt to sketch the story of these two churches I have an ample store of very different materials, a picturesque grey stone church with projecting buttresses and square tower peeping through the branches of magnificent old trees, many tablets inside and out, tombstones hacked and defaced by the rude hand of war, an old register dating back to 1792, kept with scrupulous neatness, all these in the one case; in the other, in the old volume which lies before me, the interesting business records of almost a century from 1794, if not of so romantic a nature, still shewing the sterling metal of this people, telling of bright days and dark days, of prosperity and adversity, of lightning stroke and tornado, as well as of "conflagration pale," of patient and strenuous efforts by appeals to Governor and Queen from this almost the first Presbyterian Church in Upper Canada. It may be questioned if any other churches in our land can show such interesting records.

Now, that the modern tourist has invaded our quiet town and learned of the beauties with which we are so familiar, I am always pleased to remember that as a child I loved and admired St. Mark's, that it was my ideal of an old English parish church, and churchyard, and in those days the tourist had not come to tell us what to admire. When the late lamented Dean Stanley visited St. Mark's he said, "this is a piece of old England, do not allow it to be altered." The register of St. Mark's is unique in this particular, that in almost a century that has elapsed there have only been three incumbents, one with a record of 37 years, another 27, the third, the Rev. Archdeacon McMurray, by whose courtesy I have had access to this record, of thirty-four years. Its value is shown by the fact that permission was obtained some years since to copy all the earlier pages, and this has been placed in the archives of the Historical Society of the city of Buffalo. The Rev. Mr. Addison must have had a vein of quiet humor, as shewn by the quaint remarks interpolated here and there alike at baptism, wedding or burial. He was evidently a scholar and a

lover of books, for his library of several hundred volumes, now in the possession of the Church would bring from far and near the lover of rare and curious old books. Here is a Breeches Bible and Prayer Book in which prayer is offered for Henrietta Maria, the wife of Charles I., and in dull dusky leather many rare and valuable books to rejoice the heart of the bibliomaniac.

The first entry is "Aug. 23, 1792, Henry Warren, bachelor, to Catherine Aglow, spinster. Aug. 24th, Capt. James Hamilton, to Louisa, his wife." The remark appended to this tells a tale of a new country. "They had been married by some commanding officer or magistrate and thought it more decent to have the office repeated." "April 12, 1794, William Dixon, bachelor, to Charlotte Adlem, spinster. May 15, Col. John Butler of the Rangers buried, (my patron." Here is a pathetic entry, "July, 1794, buried a child of a poor stranger called Chambers. Sept. 9, buried a soldier surfeited by drinking cold water. Baptisms, Sept. 3, Cloe, a mulatto. Married, John Jacks and Rose Moore, negroes." These must have come to their new homes slaves, but to the honor of Canada, be it said, by Act of the Parliament which sat within sight of this spot, declared free long before Britain by many a hard fought struggle in the House of Commons made her chattels free, or our neighbors by the unstinted pouring out of millions, and of a more costly treasure of tears and blood, did the same. The next entry tells of the time when this was the capital, "Buried, an infant child of the Atty.-Gen.'s servant; and Oct. 10th, R. B. Tickell buried," and the comment on some to us never to be explained tragedy, "Alas he was starved." "Sept. 24th, White, the butcher from England, and an Indian child." It is noticeable that the rector must have been indefatigable in his exertions, for we find him baptizing at 12 Mile Creek, 20 Mile Creek, 40 Mile Creek, Ancaster, Fort Erie, St. Catharines, Head of the Lake, Chippawa, Grantham, Falls, York, Long Point. On these occasions, and when people came from long distances to Niagara, there are often a great many baptisms recorded on the one day, the comment "of riper years" shewing many besides children were baptized. June 24th, 1799, occurs a well-known name. "Baptism, Allan Napier McNabb, from York," as also

occur the names of Ridout, Givens, Macaulay from the same place, "Buried,—, worn out by excess at the age of 59. Baptized, Amos Smith, of riper years. Buried, old Mr. Doudle. Baptized, 1801, David, son of Isaac, a Mohawk Indian. Buried, 1802, Cut Nose Johnson, a Mohawk chief. Poor old Trumper, Capt. Pilkington's gardener." These slight descriptive terms show a human interest, a kind heart, a humorous vein. It is remarkable that in all the early notices of baptisms, there is nothing but the name and those of the father and mother; after some time come notices of god-mothers, and in 1806 this fuller notice: "May 3rd, Eliza Ann Maria Vigoreux, daughter of Capt. Henry, Royal Engineers, and Eliza, godfather Rev. Louis Vigoreux." Here is the name of one who justly or unjustly received much blame in the war. "Baptism, Nov. 20th, 1808, Augustus Margaret Firth, daughter of Col. Henry Proctor, commandant of the 41st Regiment, and Elizabeth, Married, Dec. 11th, 1807, Lieut. Wm. Proctor, brother of Col. Henry Proctor, commanding at Fort George to Joan Crooks. Nov., 1807, John Conrad Gatman, an old German. Buried, 1810, Master Taylor of 100th Regiment, killed by lightning. Old Amen Misner, May 5th, 1812. Married, Thomas McCormack, bachelor, to Augusta Jarvis, spinster."

Here is the brief record of the hero of Upper Canada, who did so much by wise counsels, prompt action, and undaunted courage, to save our country and repel the invader, who, galloping away in the early morning, was brought back by his companions in arms in sorrow and gloom, a corpse. "Oct. 16th, 1812, burials, Gen. Sir Isaac Brock, Col. John McDonald, they fell together at Queenston, and they were buried together in the north-east bastion of Fort George." In the Buffalo paper, in which some of these were copied, occurs the rather astonishing and not easily to be understood statement "we now approach the period of the second war of independence." How an armed invasion of a peaceful neighboring country can be called a war of independence by the invader is an unsolved mystery. Also referring to the burning of our town by the Americans, before evacuating our territory, these words occur. "In one of the engagements between the opposing forces St. Mark's took fire and all but the solid

stone wall was consumed." How differently can be described the same event by different people.

During the time of the occupation of the town by the Americans from May to December, the notices go on in St. Mark's Register, but it may be noted that there are no marriages except those of two Indian chiefs, thus recorded, "Mohawk chief Capt. Norton, to his wife Catherine, I think on 27th July, 1813, when she was baptized, and Jacob Johnson, another Mohawk chief was married to his wife Mary on 21st August this year, Buried, July 17th, Col. C. Bishop, died of his wounds." As this brave young soldier was buried at Lundy's Lane, Mr. Addison must have been called on to ride all these miles to perform this service. The next item gives us another glimpse of warfare. "On the day on which the engagement between Sir James Yeo and Commander Chauncey took place on the lake, our dear friend Mrs. McNabb was buried in Mr. Servos' burying ground, supposed to be 29th September, 1813." This, history gives as the 28th Sept., but it is evident that during this exciting period some of the entries have been made from memory. Here is an entry which shows that though Parliament had been removed, Niagara was preferred as a burial place to York. "19th June, 1816—Buried, George Lane, Esq., Usher of the Black Rod." "Married, 1817, Rev. Wm. Samson, minister of Grimsby, to Maria Nelles. Buried, 1819, James Rogers, innkeeper," and the remark, "a bad profession for any but very sober men." Sept. 23rd, 1822, Poor old Hope. Feb. 23rd—Baptized, Agnes Strachan, daughter of Hon. Dr. J. Strachan, Rector of York, and Ann his wife." Here may be seen the names of most of the Regiments that have been quartered here, 41st 8th King's, 100th, 99th, 70th, Sappers and Miners. Of these we still find traces in buttons picked up at Fort George with these numbers.

Rev. Mr. Addison was military chaplain for many years. In 1810 we find another name as performing baptisms in that capacity. The last entry in this hand is 1827. in tremulous characters signed instead of full name, "R. A." And here, in another hand, is recorded the burial of this venerable man, whose zeal, piety and kindness of heart we have seen told all unwittingly in these pages.

“Oct. 9th, 1829—The Rev. Robert Addison departed this life on the 6th, in the 75th year of his age.” On the outside wall of the church is a large tablet to his memory, and inside another with this inscription :

“In memory of Rev. Robt. Addison, first missionary in this district of the venerable the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign parts. He commenced his labors in 1792, which, by the blessing of Divine Providence, he was enabled to continue for 37 years. Besides his stated services as minister of St. Mark's in the town, he visited and officiated in different parts of this and adjoining districts until other missionaries arrived. He was born in Westmoreland, England. ‘Remember them which have the rule over you.’ ”

The Church was consecrated in 1828, on Sunday, Aug 3rd, by the Hon. and Rt. Rev. Charles James, brother of the Earl of Galloway, and Lord Bishop of Quebec, in the presence of His Excellency Sir Peregrine Maitland, K.C.B., his staff, and other dignitaries. Morning prayer was said by Rev. Robt. Addison, the lesson and litany by Rev. Robert Creen, the assistant minister, the Bishop preaching.

So far, I have not met with any documentary evidence to show exactly when the church was built, or how long in process of construction. The new part can be plainly seen forming the cross, while the nave containing the tower is the old part, as shown by the color of the stone. The pulpits, curiously carved, have the date 1843.

Before the church was built, the congregation seems to have met in the Court House, near the site of the present one, and in the interval during and after the war in the Old Indian Council Chamber, afterwards used as a hospital, lately burned down. This last, with the buildings known as Butler's Barracks, was not burned with the rest of the town, as the British troops were reported to be entering, and they were thus saved. Here are two letters brought to my notice by our distinguished litterateur, Mr. Wm. Kirby, which have been lying forgotten, and now after seventy years throw a flood of light, giving us information unexpected as it is invaluable, and which, through the kindness of the

Rev. Archdeacon McMurray, I have been allowed to copy. They were written by Col. Wm. Claus to Hon. and Rev. Dr. Stuart asking assistance from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel.

NIAGARA, U. C., Jan. 18th, 1818.

“Anxious that something should be done towards rebuilding our church, which in the winter of 1813 was unfortunately destroyed by the enemy at the time our town was burnt. I would not take this freedom if there appeared the most distant prospect or steps taken to make it even in a state that we could attend Divine Service, but during this season it is hardly possible to attend. It remains in the state the Commissariat put it in for the purpose of storing provisions in after we repossessed ourselves of the frontier, with the trifling addition of a temporary reading desk and gallery for the troops. Your Lordship saw the state it was in last summer. Nothing whatever has been done or likely to be done. It is not even weather proof. The church was made use of in 1812 as an hospital for the wounded. We were deprived of our all and have barely the means of getting covering for ourselves and families, to which must be attributed the melancholy state the church remains in, &c., &c.”

The next letter is dated Niagara, 20th Sept., 1820, and first speaks of the visit formerly paid and goes on thus: “It may not be amiss to recapitulate. Previous to war of 1812 the small congregation of Niagara erected at their own expense a church which cost £1200 cy. After its destruction by fire, application was made in 1816 to His Majesty’s Government for some aid towards putting it into a state to perform Divine Service in, when His Majesty was graciously pleased to order £500 stg. which has been received and applied, but falls short of accomplishing our wish. Our congregation are too poor to expect much from them. From their living within gunshot of the enemy’s lines, they suffered the loss of all they possessed, burnt out and plundered of everything, and they had really not yet recovered their misfortunes from the late unhappy events, &c., &c.”

The answer to this letter is dated 25th Dec., 1820, mentions

that the Society had lately placed money in the hands of the Bishop of Quebec for aid in building churches and refers writer to him.

The churchyard is very interesting and also unique, for here may be traced the rifle pits constructed during the war. The church was used by both armies, for after the battle of Queenston Heights it was used as a hospital for our wounded, then by the Americans as a barracks, and again by our own commissariat. What an eventful history ! Could these stones speak. (and do they not speak eloquently of the past ?) what disputed points in our history might not be cleared up ? The lover of the curious may find many strangely pathetic and sometimes strangely grotesque lines here, the desire to be remembered being so strongly implanted in the human breast, but I only copy here those having some bearing on the history of the place.

Length of service seems to be the rule, for in the graveyard is an inscription : "In memory of Jno. Wray, 50 years parish clerk of St. Mark's, who died at an advanced age, Oct. 6th, 1846." The oldest record is placed inside the eastern door, having been found partly covered up in the graveyard and placed here for safety. It is rudely carved and imperfectly spelled by some hand unskilled in, or all unused to such work :

LENERD BLANCK

DESeaCED

5 AUG

1782

Not many feet from the church is the large flat stone, so often visited, hacked and marred, for to such an ignoble use as a butcher's block were, these sacred memorials put in 1813. The hatchet marks have almost obliterated some of the words.

"To the memory of Charles Morrison, a native of Scotland, who resided many years at Machilimacinac as a merchant, and since the cession of that post to the United States became a British subject by election ; for loyalty to his sovereign and strict integrity he was ever remarkable. He died here on his way to Montreal on the sixth day of September, 1802, aged 65."

In the porch, at the north door of the older part of the church is a tablet which brings back to us the rattle of musketry and rush of foemen the day when Niagara was taken.

“In memory of Capt. M. McLelland, aged 42 years, Charles Wright and Wm. Cameron in the 25th year of their age, of the 1st Regiment of Lincoln Militia, who gloriously fell on the 27th day of May, 1813, also Adjutant Lloyd of the 8th King’s Regiment of Infantry.

As lurid lightnings dart their vivid light,
So poured they forth their fires in bloody fight.
They bravely fell and saved their country’s cause,
They loved their Constitution, King and Laws.”

The last three words, it is needless to remark, are in capital letters. In excuse for the absence of poetry in these lines, it may be said that the people of those days were too busy writing history with their swords to trouble about elaborating musical couplets or quatrains.

Here we unroll a page of history, a name handed down to obloquy by the skill of the poet and the imaginative powers of the sensational writer, but no doubt Time, which rights many wrongs, will do justice to the memory of one so bitterly spoken of by English poet and American historian: when even Henry VIII. finds a justifier, we may hope to see some histories we wot of revised. The poet Campbell acknowledged his information on the subject had been incorrect, but how difficult to rectify the wrong!

“Fear God and honour the King” In memory of Col. John Butler, His Majesty’s Commissioner for Indian Affairs, born in New London, Connecticut, 1728. His life was spent honorably in the service of the Crown. In the war with France for the conquest of Canada he was distinguished at the battle of Lake George, Sept. 1755, at the siege of Fort Niagara, and its capitulation 25th July, 1759. In the war of 1776 he took up arms in defence of the unity of the empire, and raised and commanded the Royal American Regiment of Butler’s Rangers. A sincere Christian as well as a brave soldier, he was one of the founders and the first patron of this parish. He died at Niagara, May, 1796, and is interred in the family burying ground near this town. Erected

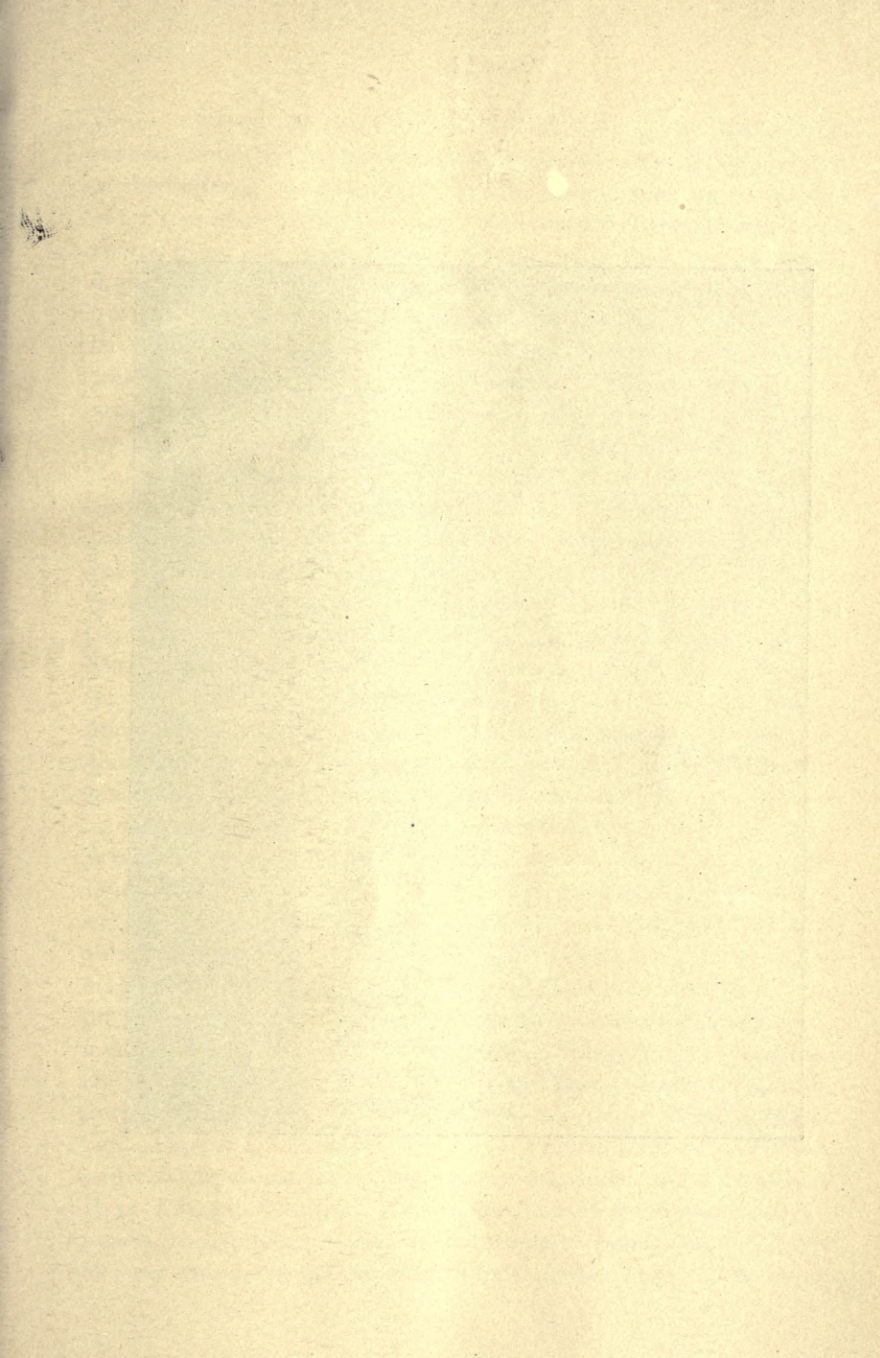
1880."

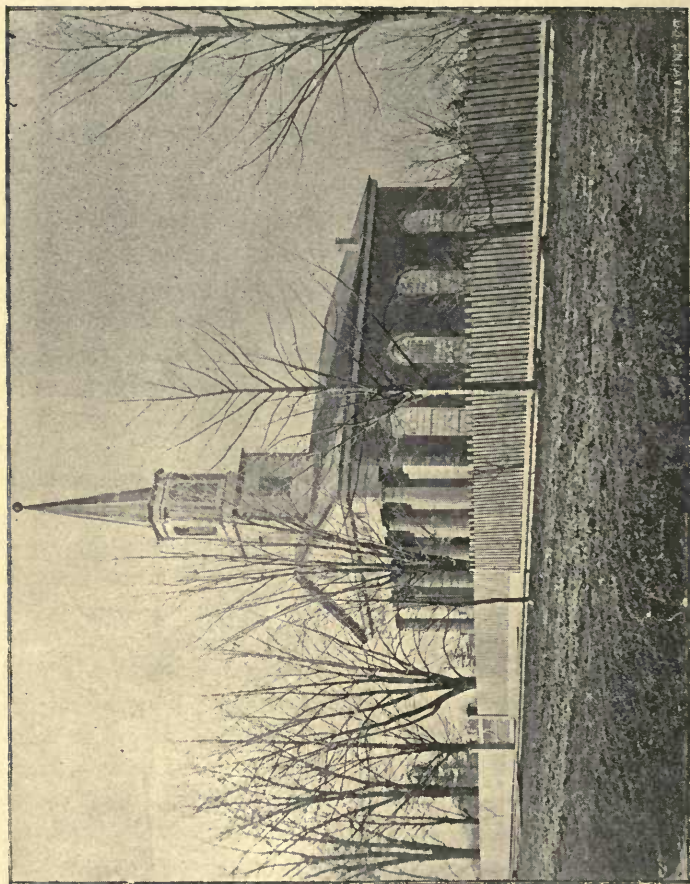
Outside the eastern wall is the story of one who has been fondly remembered, for his tragic fate is recorded also inside the church on a marble tablet.

"Sacred to the memory of Capt. Copeland Radcliffe, of His Britanic Majesty's Navy, who fell whilst gallantly leading on his men to board one of the enemy's schooners at anchor off Fort Erie on the night of the 17th August, 1814." One is erected at request of brothers and sisters by his nephew, the other by Capt. Dawes, R.N., at request of his mother. We cannot but drop a tear to the memory of a brave young sailor, Another near this, "Donald Campbell, Islay, Argyleshire, Fort Major of Fort George, died 1st Dec., 1812. Interred on West side of Garrison Gate at Fort George." Also the name of Lieut.-Col. Elliot, K.C. B., who fought in the Peninsular war, Col. Kingsmill, and a daughter of Chief Justice Sewell. In the church altogether are fifteen tablets, two in the vestibules and three on the outer walls. It may be noted that seven are to military and naval heroes, four to clergymen ; four women's names are here handed down.

Much might be said of the beauty of the spot, of the quaint pulpits and vaulted roof, of the chime of bells and the air of quiet repose, but where so many facts have to be recorded, the æsthetic and the emotional must be left for another pen or another time.

In turning now to the history of St. Andrew's we find many places where the records seem to touch, and each help out the other, where the story of one corresponds with the other, and again is widely different. While much attention has been attracted to the beautiful old church of St. Mark's, to which so much romance clings, from the fact that it is almost the only building now left which was not totally destroyed by the fire of 1813, very little is known of the early history of St. Andrew's. The graveyard too is comparatively modern, as all denominations used that of St. Mark's for many years. There are no old grey stones mutilated by the hand of war, no tablets in the wall, no stained glass to give that dim religious light some so much admire. The present church is a square solid uncompromising looking structure of brick and stone with a belt of solemn pines on the north and





St. Andrew's Church, Niagara.

west. While St. Mark's was built of solid stone, these church pioneers built of less enduring material, and thus nothing is left of the building of 1794, built on the same spot as the present church, erected sixty years ago. The history of the church is preserved in an old leather-covered book, with thick yellow paper, dated 1794, and curious glimpses are given of our country's progress. The oldest Presbyterian church in Ontario is believed to be Williamstown, 1786, which with several others in the vicinity was presided over by Rev. John Bethune. This ranks next. It may easily be seen that St. Mark's had an immense advantage, with a settled clergyman, with a salary from the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel of £200, while St. Andrew's struggling under a load of debt for many years, with many breaks from the confusion and distress caused by the war, could only have been kept alive by the strenuous exertions of its members. We find many of the same names on the records of both churches. Some baptized in St. Mark's in the breaks in the history of St. Andrew's. Many of the residents had pews in both churches. It is interesting to note that while St. Mark's register uses the name Niagara, and Newark never occurs, St. Andrew's record uses the word Newark from 1794, and in 1802 the name Niagara occurs. As a matter of history the name Niagara was formally resumed 1798

The record dates from 30th September, 1794, and reads thus : A number of people met this day at Hind's Hotel, and resolved that "as religion is the foundation of all societies, and which cannot be so strictly adhered to without having a place dedicated solely to divine purposes, that a Presbyterian church should be erected in the town of Newark and that subscriptions for that purpose be immediately set on foot as well as for the support of a clergyman of the same persuasion." The committee consisted of John Young, Four Mile Creek, Chairman ; Ralfe Clench, Andrew Heron, Robt. Kerr, Alexander Gardiner, William McLelland, Alexander Hemphill, any three to form a quorum in trivial matters, but in matters of importance the whole to be assembled. Here follows a bill of lumber, the size of the timbers required would move the wonder of our modern frames, 8x12 and 6x9. We see the size of the building to have been 46x32. No grass

was allowed to grow under the feet of these pioneers, for the next day 1st October, follows an agreement binding them to support Rev. John Dun, promising to pay £300 for three years, £100 per year with house room, a previous copy having been made out 23rd Sept. The agreement is from 30th June for the same year, showing that they had enjoyed his services from that date. Then follows an agreement as to windows, there being sixteen with 40. 24 and 12 lights respectively. A petition to Land Board for four lots in one square 157, 158, 183, 184. By referring to a plan of the town, we see that the first church stood where the present one now stands. A copy of subscriptions for building the church, different sums subscribed from 8 shillings to £10, while the amounts promised for the support of clergyman are about the same per year. Andrew Heron is appointed Treasurer, and "this is to be made public, as the frame is shortly expected down and the money will be wanted for the purpose of paying for the same." The whole amount subscribed at the time was £215, of which £150 is marked paid. Among the names is that of Samuel Street, £8.

Then follow receipts from Rev. John Dun of yearly salary : plans for seating and pewing church are brought forward Sept. 1795. On March, 1796, a sexton employed for £6 N.Y. cy. On the same date pews to be let for £3 and £5 each. Here appear the names of Col. Butler, Peter Ball, Daniel Servos, Andrew Heron for sums as high as £10. The 21 seats let this day amount to £150. The last receipt given by Mr. Dun is 8th May, 1797. His name is found afterwards among the pewholders as he gave up the ministry and engaged in trade. The next business meeting is Sept. 2nd, 1802, when the Rev. Jno. Young of Montreal is engaged, to have the privilege of teaching a school. The same day the thanks of the meeting are given to Mr. John McFarland for the bell which he has been pleased to present to the church. Again the seats are let and the names of William and James Crooks, John and Colin McNabb, Jas. Muirhead, the heirs of the late Col. Butler, who, we find from St. Mark's register, died 1796. Then follow lists of payments for glass, putty, stoves, stovepipes, rum for glaziers, rum for raising (2 gallons), interesting as shewing the prices then, rope for bell, "rope wetted,"

whatever that may mean I leave for wiser heads ; covering and foundation for steeple, so that we see the first church had a spire as well as the present ; charge for ringing the bell. Accounts from 1804 to 1812, all in a peculiar large hand, the writing almost filling the line, and though so large exceedingly difficult to read. All this time, although there was considerable debt, Mr. Heron seems to have advanced money when needed. We find in 1795 a "large balance unpaid and a great deal to be done to make the church convenient and comfortable." An obligation drawn out requesting "loan of money from those who were able to loan any to this laudable purpose, that the building be not impeded."

The baptisms in this book are only from Aug. 1795, to 1802, except two daughters of A. Heron, recorded in his own peculiar hand 1809 and 1814, Nov. 27th, the latter nearly a year after the burning of the church. The baptisms are performed by the regular ministers and others called visiting ministers. One in 1792 by Rev. John McDonald from Albany, U. S. The children of Ebenezer Colver, township of Louth are entered as baptized in 1781, 1783 and 1791, earlier than any in St. Mark, but the performing Clergyman is not mentioned, but showing that in those early days this duty was not neglected. Rev. Mr. Mars, a visiting Clergyman from 1st Feb. to 14th March, 1801, baptized several. Here we find the good old word "yeoman" used.

Here is a notice which seems to show friction of some sort. "Resolved that this church is under the direction and control of the majority of the trustees and not subject to the direction of the clergyman." "Resolved that the pulpit, being part of the church, is subject to the majority of the trustees." Provision, however, seems to have been made even at that early date for their share in government, of the *minority*, of which our politicians may take a note. "Resolved that in case of a division of the Society the church shall be held alternately by each party, that is one week to one party and one week to the other. The key of the church to be left at all times with the trustee residing nearest to the church in order that the majority of the trustees may know where to find it when they may see fit to admit a preacher."

In 1804 Mr. Heron presented an account for £176 8s. 3d. lawful money U. C., inspected and approved, as also account of Mr. Young £27, also approved. Of these we shall see more as the years roll on. Resolved that in 1805, that Andrew Heron be clerk. April, 1805, persons named are authorized to obtain services of a clergyman at the rate of £75 and £50 to teach 13 pupils, if he be inclined, in Latin, Greek and Mathematics. In this obligation to pay, the word dollars occurs for the first time. In 1809 the Rev. John Burns gives half his time to church, the pews to be let for one-half of that in 1796. His name is also mentioned in 1805 and appears during the years 1810—11, 16, 17, 18. He, it appears taught the grammar school and gave part of his time to the congregation, as sometimes he is mentioned as preaching every third Sunday and sometimes every fourth.. Different efforts seem to have been made to obtain a Presbyterian of Established Church of Scotland, in 1806, communicating with Rev. Jas. McLean, of Glasgow, agreeing to pay his expenses out. He actually preached during June, July, August, the church to be open to Rev. John Burns when it did not interfere with any other engagement of Trustees. In 1809 subscriptions set on foot to finish the church. From 1812 to 1816 there are no records. No doubt, the war scattered the people and broke up the congregation. Here again St. Mark's had a great advantage, a resident clergyman and a stone church not entirely destroyed; for heavy as were the timbers of St. Andrew's, they only fed the flames more fiercely.

In 1818 agreement with Rev. Chas. Jas. Cook. Then in 1820 a petition to the Earl of Dalhousie for a sum of money to build a church in town and give title to land on which former church did stand. A collection at Divine Service to repair windows and building as far as necessary for comfort of congregation (supposed to be school house). In the *Gleaner* lying before me for 1818, published in Niagara, is an advertisement of "annual meeting of Presbyterian Church, to be held in school house. The accounts of money received and expended in building school house will be produced."

In 1820 a letter asking for the services of Rev. Thos. Creen, who

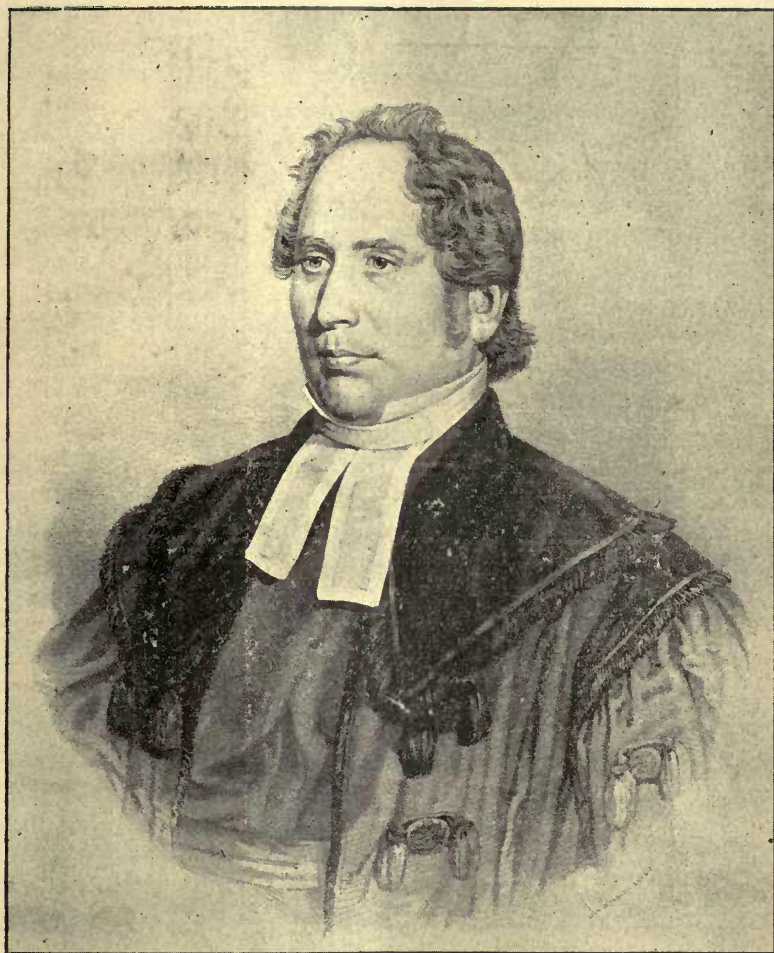
had preached for them a few weeks and with whom they were pleased. At a meeting in the school house, held 1821, "Resolved to put themselves under the Presbytery." Here follow signatures and sums promised, sadly diminished from those before the war. In 1821, Rev. Mr. Smart, of Brockville, who was present, was appointed their Commissioner, on the 21st Dec. elders were nominated, Rev. John Burns presiding. Scarcely any records for 1822-23, but in 1824 is presented the former account of £176 8s. 6d., with interest for twenty years, making the whole sum almost the amount, £400 allowed by Government for loss of the church. £100 had been received and paid on this account. Some interesting items occur. Paid for deed of church, £6 14s. 6d.; passage to York and back, £1; detention there two days, 10s. There seems to have been no settlement of this account till 1833 when follows in small clear writing almost like copper-plate of W. D. Miller, "amount due the two persons named, £203; interest for 9y. 4 2-3 m. from 1804 till the church was burnt." This is signed by James Muirhead, Robert Dickson, Wm. Clarke, perhaps as arbitrators, or who state this to be the decision of the majority of the trustees.

The wheels of state must have moved slowly, as this sum £400 demanded in 1820 from the Government, awarded in 1824, was not paid for several years and then only in instalments of 10%, 25%, etc. In 1828, Rev. Mr. Fraser was engaged for two years and in 1829 a call was sent to the Presbytery of Glasgow offering £150, and the Rev. Robt. McGill was sent out. Now come various interesting items bearing on the vexed questions of Clergy Reserves, status of Presbyterian minister, &c. Fancy a proud, dignified man like Dr. McGill coming from Scotland where he was a minister of the Established Church and finding that he was not allowed to perform the ceremony of marriage. Here are extracts from the dignified and rather curt letter he writes.

"SIR,—I understand it to be required by the law of the province that a minister in connection with the Established Church of Scotland . . . must yet submit to request of the General Quarter Sessions authority to celebrate marriage, even among members of his own congregation . . . although I regard

this law as an infringement of those rights secured to the Established Church of Scotland by acts of the Imperial Parliament of Great Britain . . . it seems expedient that I should conform to it, until that church to which I belong shall procure its abrogation as an illegal violation of its rights. I request, therefore, that you will give notice to all concerned that I intend . . .”

Also in this connection comes a copy of certificate to the Governor's office, York, for the share of money allotted by Her Majesty's Government for support of ministers of Church of Scotland. In 1830, subscriptions for a new church, this is seventeen years after the town was burnt, they having worshipped in the school-room where the Sexton's house now stands. Also a subscription for sacramental silver vessels which cost £20. On looking over the names we find many familiar to us, but so far as I know of the eighty names signed sixty years ago of various sums from £10 to £50, there are just two living now, Wm. B. Winterbottom, Niagara, and Gilbert McMicking, Winnipeg. Such well known names are here as Robert Dickson, Walter H. Dickson, Lewis Clement, Andrew Heron, Thomas Creen, Edward C. Campbell, Robert Hamilton, Daniel McDougall, Robert Melville, Jas. Crooks, Jno Claus, John Rogers, John Wagstaff. The whole sum subscribed was £760, the church to seat 600. The name St. Andrew's was now used for the first time, salary of the clergyman £175 with Government allowance and promise of manse, as soon as possible. Next comes Incorporation of church and the plan of the church and names of those who purchased seats, of whom there are now in the church representatives of six. In 1834, old meeting house was rented for £12. 10s. In 1836, directions to advertise for a precentor in the newspapers of the town. Belonging to this period are the Communion tokens, bearing the inscription, “St. Andrew's Church, 1831, R. McGill, Niagara, U. C.,” which are now in demand by collectors of coins and may yet be quite rare if this rage of numismatists continue. Now comes the vexed question of the Clergy Reserves in the form of a petition to Sir Francis Bond Head for a due support from lands appointed, &c. Now that the bitterness and rancor caused by this subject is forgotten we may quote without risk of wounding any one the



Rev. R. McGill, D.D.

words of the petition to Sir. John Colborne showing the national characteristics of this people, a stern determination to have their constitutional rights and to gain them not by violence but by constitutional means. The petition goes on to state that "they feel aggrieved by an act of the Lieutenant Governor, establishing a rectory by which their rights are infringed and which is incompatible with privileges granted by the Treaty of Union between England and Scotland, privileges belonging inalienably in a British colony to subjects of Scotland as well as subjects of England." The institution of the rectory it is said "recognizes the incumbent as sole spiritual instructor of all residing within its bounds and places them in same relation to the Establishment as Dissenters of England are to church established there." To this are signed 128 names, of those the only ones now known to be living are A. C. Currie, Wm. Barr, Jas. McFarland.

Annual meeting 6th February, 1838, we have a glimpse of the Rebellion, "as meeting was unavoidably deferred on account of disturbed state of country from late insurrectionary movement, and piratical invasion from frontiers of U.S., the members being engaged in military duty." In 1838 comes the appointment of Jno. Rogers as Treasurer, which position he held till his death in 1883, almost 46 years. It may be noticed that while there have been only three incumbents in St. Mark's, and in St. Andrews, so many changes, the latter church had the advantage of three faithful officers who term of office reaches almost to a century.

In 1839, in acknowledgment of sacrifice made by Rev. R. McGill remaining in Niagara instead of accepting a call to Glasgow, a subscription to raise the sum of £300 as a New Year's gift from his congregation. In 1840, reference to school kept by Jas. Webster in school room under control of church, in 1842 called St. Andrew's Church School, and to avail themselves of Act passed in Parliament in regard to common schools. A paper bearing on the subject of Clergy Reserves came into my hands some years ago which I copied. Singularly enough it is not found in this book, as a parchment copy was kept. It is a petition to the Queen in 1842, that, "in consequence of mistakes made in the census of 1839, members of Presbyterian Church were

underrated in settlement of Clergy reserves in 1840, and that relief be granted for this wrong." It is signed only by heads of families, 142 names, giving number in each family, making 628 altogether. This was in the palmy days of Niagara, when the church was crowded above and below ; in 1844 only one seat and two half seats were not taken, during ship-building at the dock. Of the names signed to this petition only one person is now living Alexander R. Christie, Toronto.

A legacy of £750 was left by John Young to the church and a statement is made that part of it is invested in Montreal Harbor Loan, Rev. Mr. McGill reports that he has received £52 10s. in interest for the balance which by condition of the will he could use for himself but minutes go on to say, that he generously allows to church. The only tablet in St. Andrew's is in the southern vestibule, reading thus :—"Sacred to the memory of John Young, Esq., long a merchant in Niagara, returning home in pain and infirmity he was drowned in Lake Ontario. where his body rests awaiting the hour when the sea shall give up her dead. In his last illness concerned for the spiritual welfare of coming generations he ordained a bequest for the perpetual maintenance of divine ordinances in this church. He met death July 29th, 1840 aged 73. Pray for the peace of Jerusalem, because of the house of the Lord I will seek thy good." In 1845 a presentation to Dr. McGill, on occasion of his leaving for Montreal, of breakfast and tea set of massive silver. To this are signed 64 names, of whom now living are Thos. Elliot, Andrew Carnochan, Jas. McFarland. It is singular that while Montreal gave a minister to Niagara, in its earlier days the chief city of Canada was now indebted to Niagara for an able preacher. The present manse was built by Dr. McGill, and purchased from him with a legacy of Mr. Young, as the handsome pulpit was the gift of Mr. Young.

Among the names signed in 1850 to the call to Rev. J. B. Mowat now professor of Hebrew, Queen's University, now living are only Jno. M. Lawder, Jas. G. Currie, James M. Dunn, John Currie, Andrew Torrance. The memory of Rev. Dr. Mowat is yet cherished in Niagara. In 1851 is noticed the very handsome sum paid in to support of the church by non-commissioned officers

and privates of Royal Canadian Rifles here, who attended St. Andrew's. In 1852 is purchased a bell; having enjoyed the use of one for nine years, 1804 to 1813, they were without one for forty years. In 1854 a Glebe is purchased with £150 offered by Clergy Reserve Commissioners, they afterwards raised £50 to complete the purchase. In this period the church twice sustained serious injury from storms, the roof being taken off and other damage sustained.

Of the names signed to the call to Rev Chas. Campbell in 1858 we have a startling commentary on the slow but sure approach of death, of 68 names only four persons are now living, Jas. M. Dunn, Jno. Blake, Thos. Elliot, Robt. Murry. Having now come to comparatively recent times we may fitly close with an extract from the records of St. Andrew's, on the death of Wm. Duff Miller, which goes on in stately periods thus "who for the long period of half a century had been a most valuable member, taking on all occasions a deep interest and acting a faithful part in the temporal and spiritual affairs of the church, being one of that little company of excellent Christian men (himself the last survivor) that during a lengthened probation of trial and suffering arising chiefly from the want of regular ministerial services, managed and kept together the Presbyterian congregation of Niagara when in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and twenty-nine, their laudable efforts were at last rewarded, by the Church of Scotland's ordaining and inducting a minister to the pastorate; the deceased, the following year on the completion of the ecclesiastical organization of the congregation to church ordinances, was ordained to the Eldership, which office he worthily and actively filled to the day he rested from his labors."

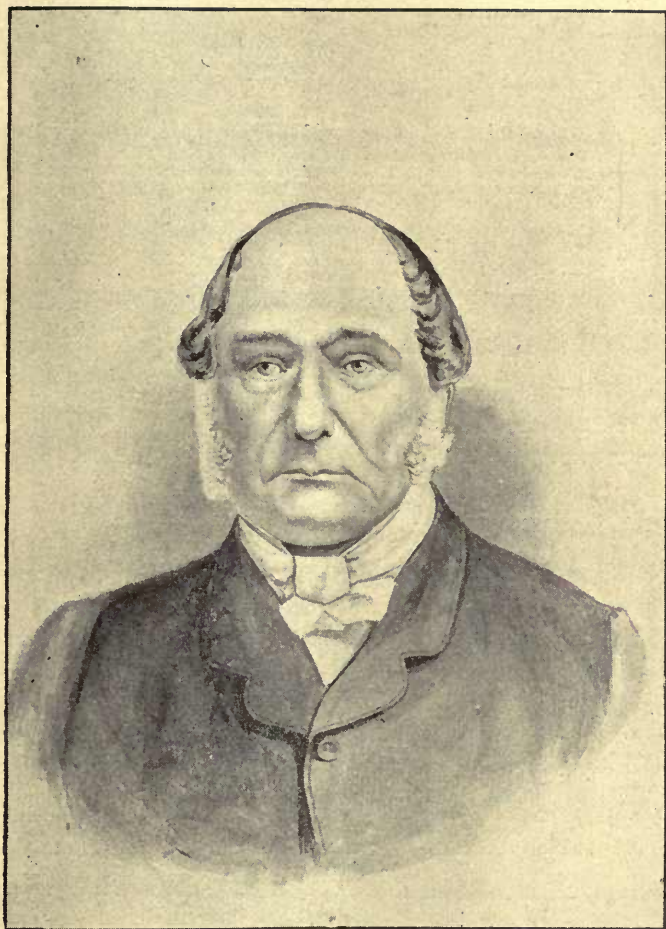
Yes, these pioneers of St. Andrew's and St. Mark's did noble work, after life's fitful fever they sleep well. May those of the present day not prove degenerate sons of such noble sires, but in the duties of every day life write history so that those of a day as far advanced on the light and civilization of ours as this is of the days of which we have been giving the record, may say of us, "they did what they could."

Since writing the above, two centeninals have been held in the town, that of St. Mark's held 9th, 10th, and 11th of July, 1892, and that of St. Andrew's, held 18th, 19th and 20th of August, 1894, in each case the meetings being largely attended, especially by the descendants of the members of these churches a century ago, they often having come long distances. In St. Mark's a brass tablet was unveiled with the following inscription :—

“To the Glory of God. This tablet is erected by the congregation of St. Mark's church in grateful commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the foundation of this parish, on the 9th of July 1792. The nave of the church was built about 1807, and burned during the war of 1812, the walls only remaining. It was restored 1820, and enlarged to the present dimensions in 1843. During the century the living has been held by the following incumbents : The Rev. Robert Addison 1792 to 1829 ; the Rev. Thomas Creen 1829 to 1857 ; the Rev. Wm. McMurray, D.D. D.C.L., Archdeacon of Niagara, to the present time, assisted since 1888 by the Rev. J. C. Garrett as curate.”

In consulting the archives of Canada several items have been found definitely fixing the date pretty conclusively of the building of St. Mark's. The evidence at least is of a negative nature shewing that St. Mark's could not have been built before 1802. A sum of money had been granted from England and a letter February 24th, 1797, from Peter Russell to Lord Portland asks leave to have churches built at Newark, York, Cornwall, there being already one at Kingston. On Sept. 11th, in a letter from Lord Portland to Peter Russel, £500 has been granted. Feb. 20th, 1798, no part of the money appropriated had been applied for and recommends that subscriptions be raised by inhabitants, sites chosen and church wardens elected. In 1802 money is apportioned to Sandwich £200, Niagara, £100, York £300, Cornwall £200. In the places mentioned the people are building, or preparing to build, and are applying for their proportions. Mrs. Simcoc writes 26th July, 1792, “there is no church here, met for service in Free Mason's Hall where divine service is performed on Sunday.”

Many of the inscriptions are remarkable for their bold flights of fancy ; the exigencies of rhyme, rhythm and syntax are boldly



Rev. Thos. Creen.

met and conquered. A few examples may be given. Over the Trumpeter H. M. Royal Artillery's Division,

"Here lies within this silent grave
A Royal Soldier brisk and brave,
Who suddenly was snatched away,
From off this sodden foot of clay."

Another dated 1802 :

"So weep not, drie up your tears ;
Heare must i lie till Christ Apears."

No faint praise is this :

"Here lies as much virtue as could live."

Another :—

"Filial affection stronger than the grave,
From Times' obliterating hand to save ;
Erects this humble monument of stone
Over a father's and a mother's bones."

How different from the simple name and age of the present time or the few appropriate words on monuments lately erected here.

"The memory of a life nobly rendered is immortal ;"

Or

"Laid here in faith, hope and love all that is mortal of—"

Of St. Andrew's too, some later information may be given. The centennial celebration held on Aug 18th, 19th, 20th, was well attended, the Premier of the province, now the Lieutenant Governor, Sir Oliver Mowat, was present and made an address, which supplied many links in the history of the church while the Hon. Beverley Robinson the late Lieut. Governor, followed in a short pithy speech. A tablet was unveiled by Rev. Prof. Mowat, a former pastor, having the following inscription :—

1794—1894.

"In grateful commemoration of the one-hundredth anniversary of the organization of this congregation, this tablet is erected by the members of St. Andrew's Church, Niagara. The first building begun in October 1794 and erected on this spot was burnt in the war of 1812-14. The congregation met in St. Andrew's school room on the north corner of this block, for some years. The present church was built in 1831. The ministers have been:

Rev. John Dun, Rev. John Young, Rev. John Burns, Rev. Thos. Fraser, Rev. Robert McGill, D. D., Rev. Charles Campbell, Rev. William Cleland, Rev. J. W. Bell, M. A., and the present pastor Rev. N. Smith."

In the graveyard too as in that of St. Mark's may be found the names of many of the U. E. Loyalists and of soldiers who fought here, as Donald McDonald of the 93rd Highlanders etc. Here also was buried in 1833 John Crooks, the Superintendent of the first Sunday School in the town. A small tablet inserted in the north wall of the church has the words, "The Minister's Burying Place". Is it not strange that in all those hundred years no minister of the church died here so that but for an infant of a day this square is unoccupied.

In the Archives of Canada for the year 1891 is a letter dated Newark, Oct. 12th, 1792, from Richard Cartwright. asking for assistance to Church of England in Eastern district and goes on to say that "The Scotch Presbyterians who are pretty numerous here, and to which sect the most respectable part of the inhabitants belong, have built a meeting house and raised a subscription for a minister of their own who is shortly expected among them." This shows that some sort of building had been erected before that started in 1794.

Of these two historic churches the words of George McDonald in the Sea Board Parish may be appropriately quoted. "And when I saw it I rejoiced to think that I was favored with a church that had a history—one in which the hopes and fears, the cares and consolations, the loves and desires of our forefathers should have been roofed—Therefore I would far rather when I may, worship in an old church, whose very stones are a history of how men strove to realize the Infinite, compelling even the powers of nature into the task."

Locust Grove.

The residence of Mrs. J. W. Ball.

By CHAS. A. F. BALL.

The families of Bahl or Ball and Mann intermarried ; all or a portion of either or both emigrated from Heidelberg, Germany, to Blofield, in the County of Norfolk, England.

In the year 1690 during the reign of William and Mary some members of the Ball family, purchased from the Crown, lands in the Mohawk Valley at one york shilling per acre, emigrated to America and settled there.

In the Revolutionary War, the family remained loyal to the British Crown, and Jacob (the father) with his sons, Peter, Jacob and John, came to Canada in 1782 and engaged in the war on the side of Great Britain in Butler's and Queen's Rangers. Jacob (the father), who was a Captain, was followed to Canada by the greater part of his company, who joined with him in the cause of the Crown. George, the youngest son, with the female portion of the family came to Canada in 1784.

Lands were granted by the Crown in the townships of Louth and Niagara :—the family settled on the latter, about two miles from Niagara.

George, the youngest son, went to the township of Louth, on the Twenty Mile Creek, that part afterwards known as Ball's Mills, where he erected a grist mill, saw mill, woolen mill, cooper shop and general store :—These were largely utilized by the Military in the war of 1812—a portion of a British Regiment being stationed there for a considerable time to guard the mill and other property, whence a very considerable portion of their supplies was received.

During the war of 1812, the home on the Niagara property was burned by the enemy, grandmother being driven out and

only allowed to take a small bundle in her hand. The house, about 70 feet in length, was completely destroyed and with it a quantity of valuables sent there for safe keeping. In 1818 John built the house seen to the right of the picture and in 1820 George built a large brick house, that which appears in the engraving, on the Niagara homestead and in 1821 removed there from Louth with his family and continued to reside there till his death which occurred in February 1854.

With reference to the aforementioned British regular troops at Ball's mills, there were two companies of the (104th I believe) under command of Captains Brock and Vavasour—Captain Brock was a nephew of General Sir Isaac Brock. The General's hat which was received after the death of the General, was presented by his nephew, Capt. Brock, to my father George Ball. Capt. Brock's wife was with him at the Twenty.

The following lines written on the balcony of the old house, (apparently in red chalk) was distinctly legible for many years after ;—

"The blessing of God attend this house
For the kindness they have shown
To the 104th when stationed here,
The country to defend."

(The foregoing memorandum was written by Chas. A. F. Ball, youngest son of George Ball.)

In addition to the above it may be said that of the 1000 acres granted to the family in Niagara township over a hundred years ago, that 750 acres are still in the possession of the family, unlike many families who now own none of the land so granted, and through the length and breadth of Canada are found descendants of Jacob Ball, whose name appears in the list of Butler's Rangers. In the Historical Room is the original Muster Roll of one company of this celebrated regiment dated Niagara 1782. It is headed Lieut. Col. John Butler, Capt. Peter Len Broeck, 1st Lieut. Jacob Ball, Muster roll for 218 days from 30th Sept. 1782 to 9th April 1783 and contains the names of fifty privates three sergeants, three corporals, two drummers, with interesting

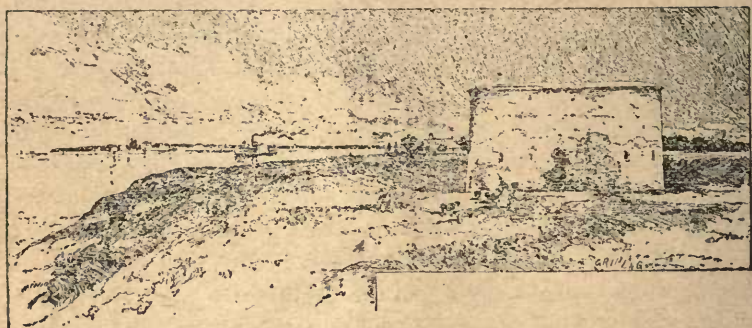
remarks as "on command to Oswego or Detroit", "On Duty", "Prisoners of War" etc. Capt. Ten Broeck resigned in January 1783 and Jacob Ball must then have become Captain. Many well known names of U. E. Loyalists occur as Fields, Showers, McMicken, Cassaday, Vrooman, Clendennan, etc.

In a census taken by Col. Jno. Butler in 1782 of the settlement at Niagara the name Ball does not occur but in that of 1783 Jacob Ball is mentioned with 11 acres cleared and Peter Ball 5 acres while others who had come earlier have in some cases 50 acres cleared.

In the family burying ground are inscriptions to Jacob Ball and his three sons, Peter, John and George, while in the old burying ground at Homer may be seen a large raised tomb to the other son Jacob Ball. It is remembered that all the older family spoke German as well as English and also the elder children.

In many documents the name is honorably mentioned. In the papers of 1847 as showing the extended trade of this district, and of Ball's Mills referred to before, in the disbursements of money raised to relieve the distress in Ireland, is the item of 500 barrels flour purchased from G. P. M. Ball, Louth, (the son of George Ball) from Ball's Mills to send to Ireland, and in the list of contributors to allay the want and suffering caused by the famine the name of George Ball, Louth, as giving 16 barrels of flour. There also appear the names of Wm. M. Ball and John Ball among the contributors. Besides this, shewing the liberality of the family in all good works, on the list of life members of the Bible Society giving \$50 at one time, are found the names of Jno. W. Ball, Margaret Ball, Mrs. J. W. Ball, and others. In the list of Grammar School Trustees, Magistrates and other officials the name Ball frequently occurs and in St. Mark's Centennial volume is a portrait of John W. Ball, who for fifty years was an officer of the church as S. S. teacher, Church Warden, or other official capacity.

Mrs. Roe and Mr. C. A. F. Ball who are Hon. Vice-Presidents of our Historical Society are the only survivors of the eleven children of the George Ball referred to above. ED. J. C.



Fort Mississagua.

By JANET CARNOCHAN.

This fort has been called one which never fired a shot in anger, at least as it now exists, for little but the tower, the ramparts and the magazines remain. The earthworks are in the shape of a star and of much earlier date certainly previous to 1796 and at different points there were batteries in the war of 1812. From the Archives of Canada we learn that an Act was passed by the Provincial Assembly at York in 1803 to erect a lighthouse on Mississagua Point, at the entrance of the river near the town of Niagara. In an engraving in John Ross Robertson's History of Free Masonry, the lighthouse may be seen with the lighthouse Keeper's house near it, and on the bank, nearer the town, buildings which must represent the Engineer's Quarters, about the site of the Queen's Royal Hotel. In the engraving in our first pamphlet, from the Philadelphia Portfolis of 1818, representing the taking of Fort George may be seen the river and lake front, shewing the lighthouse, St. Andrew's Church, St. Mark's Church, a battery, Forts George and Niagara on the 27th May 1813.

Dominic Henry, a veteran, in the 4th Batt. Royal Artillery of Cornwallis, afterwards came to Niagara and became the keep-

er of the lighthouse from 1803 to 1814, dying at Niagara in 1829. His wife Mary Madden, we find from the Records of the Loyal and Patriotic Society published in 1818, was presented by them with the sum of £25 in appreciation of her work in serving out refreshments to the British soldiers of Vincent's small force when resisting overwhelming numbers, 6000 against a few hundred, and she is described as "a heroine not to be frightened", and here on the 13th December of the same year fled many inhabitants of the town bringing valuables for safe keeping till the house could hold no more, when the sky was lit up with the conflagration of the town, for the lighthouse on the Canadian side useful to both east and west and the Lighthouse Keeper's house as well, were spared. It is believed that the present tower was built shortly after on the spot where the lighthouse stood, it being taken down, as a light was put on the top of the present old castle at Fort Niagara shortly after; the present lighthouse having been built about 1875 and the light removed from the old castle of 1748. An outline sketch of some of the buildings taken by Gen Seaton Gordon in 1824 and shewing the flagstaff, is in possession of our Society and in Lossing's History of the war of 1812 is a sketch taken by him in 1860 of the various buildings here then, some of them of log, none of which are now to be seen, for it was dismantled in 1870, and the cannons removed and for several years the buildings lay open and uncared for, even the wood work of the tower being destroyed by fire. The remains of the palisades which surrounded the fort may yet be seen but must soon disappear from the sapping of Ontario's ceaseless waves.

For many years the fort and the buildings within the enclosure were occupied by British soldiers. Lately a roof has been put on with what is certainly an offence to the eye, instead of the flat roof to which so many climbed to inspect the cannon, has been placed there a cottage roof with dormer windows. A fort with a cottage roof and dormer windows! The iconoclasts of the present have thus destroyed all resemblance to a fort.

The walls it is believed were built from the bricks brought from the ruins of the town, the broken bricks showing quite

plainly, the walls are at least five feet thick, as may be seen in the loop holes. A letter has lately come to light telling of the construction of the fort. The letter is dated "Hope Cottage Fort George, Dec. 1814" from Mrs. Jenoway to the effect that her husband of the 1st Batt. Royal Scots had constructed fortifications at Queenston. He has the entire command of the Engineers Depot at Fort Mississagua and Fort George. The former is a large new post which he had the direction of at the commencement." Along the shore landed the enemy, stretching to Crookston now Chautauqua and here on the morning after the battle lay in a small space three hundred dead. The late Mr. R. N. Ball told the writer that in a log house then standing, the floor was swimming with blood from the wounded carried in. It is strange that of all that number we only know the names and graves of five. In the old graveyard at Homer is a stone to George Grass who was killed at the battle of Fort George, May 27th, 1813, and in the vestibule at the north door of St. Mark's is a tablet to Capt. Martin McLellan, Chas. Wright, Wm. Cameron and Adj. Lloyd interred in the graveyard. Lately at Chautauqua in erecting a windmill the skeletons of four soldiers were unearthed, from the buttons it is certain they were British, the bones of these heroes of the past were replaced, and it is hoped some mark, however slight, may yet be put there to mark the spot.

Our poet, Wm. Kirby, in his Canadian Idylls has thus described the fort ;

"Its walls thick as a fendal keep with loopholes slashed,
Contain the wreck and ruin of the town.

x x x

The ruins of its walls and hearths were built
Into this stern memorial of a deed
Unchivalrous in days of war gone by."

It is hoped that as the Historical Societies have requested this fort as well as Fort George and Fort Erie may be placed like Brock's monument in the hands of the Niagara Falls Park Commissioners so that these spots made sacred by the blood of patriots may be protected, preserved, made beautiful so that instead of feeling the blush of shame at seeing the neglect of

points of historic interest we may point with pride to these spots where our forefathers held not their lives dear if they might keep the soil a sacred heritage for their children.

The following sonnet by the present writer when the fort was almost in ruins appeared in the *Toronto Week* :

“Deserted, drear, and mouldering to decay,
A square low tower stands grim and gray and lone
From Newark’s ruins built, its walls storm blown,
When sword and flame alternate seized their prey.
Ontario’s waves in rage or idle play
Sap palisade and fort with ceaseless moan,
Shall we historic relics see o’erthrown,
And not a voice be raised to answer nay?
Four nations here for empire sternly fought,
And brightly gleamed the red man’s council fire,
The beacon lights the dancing wave and lea,
Where Brave La Salle both fame and fortune sought.
In fratricidal strife fell son and sire,
Where friends stretch hands across a narrow sea.”

NOTE TO CENTENNIAL POEM.

[In the third canto, beginning with the ninth line, reference is made to two venerable, retired clergymen, Canon Arnold, late rector of Fort Erie, and Doctor Ker, for years the church’s devoted and beloved missionary to Gaspé. The former, nearly ninety years of age, and some ten years older than Dr. Ker, was hale and hearty; the latter, less active and, in fact, grown feeble, found it much less easy to get about. This gave Canon Arnold the opportunity of taking the arm of his clerical brother and assisting him in going to and returning from the table of the Lord. It was always to the writer and others a very affecting sight.] JNO. C. GARRETT.

Navy Hall.

A long low building, now to our shame be it said, used as a stable, facing the river, not far from what was called King's Wharf, marked as such in old maps of the town is all that now remains of the four buildings called Navy Hall in 1788, one of which was cleared out, the sails, cordage and other naval stores being removed when Gov. Simcoe arrived in Newark in 1792, no other building being available as a residence. In the Archives of Canada is given the list of expenses incurred in fitting up the building for the use of His Excellency, Col. Simcoe, boards, shingles, lath, paint, glass, putty, nails, sashes, locks and hinges altogether the modest sum of £116 5s. It is mentioned that some of the buildings were erected in the course of the last war (meaning 1775 to 1783) for naval officers but in time of peace repairs were neglected. The map of Mr. Chewett in 1804 shows four buildings, one of these a long structure at right angles to the river and three others parallel with the river. The Duke de la Roche Fancault-Liancourt, who visited Governor Simcoe in 1795, described the house occupied by the Governor as "a small miserable wooden house which was formerly occupied by the Commissaries."

Mrs. Simcoe who was something of an artist made a sketch of Navy Hall in 1794 from the deck of a sloop at the mouth of the river, showing a long building parallel to, and another at right angles to the river.

Some ridicule the idea that the long low building at present standing in the lower part of Fort George enclosure can be one of the original buildings of Navy Hall, but so far the fact has never been disproved and much evidence of a corroborative nature can be adduced. It must be remembered that the building does not stand where it originally did, as some years ago when the late

W. A. Thomson made a cutting through the oak grove with the idea of having the train of the M. C. R. land near the King's Wharf instead of going through the town, permission was asked and obtained to move the building which stood nearer the river than now and almost in the line of the proposed cutting. The house was carefully moved higher up, its position there being a puzzling thing to those who are not aware of this fact.

By many the building was called the Red Barracks, the dull red may yet be seen, and on each door the words "28 men", so that here must have been crowded 56 men of the Royal Canadian Rifles or other regiments of an earlier date.

The much vexed question as to the first Parliament House may yet be settled but so far it is wise not to assert too confidently, since no less than five places have been mentioned, Navy Hall, The Indian Council House, The Parliament Oak, Fort Niagara, Government House near the present Court House, and since Parliament met here during five years it is quite likely that more than one of these can claim the honor.

In a map of 1831 of the Niagara Harbour and Dock Company the position of King's Wharf is given, and Navy Hall a long building, also the ferry house the property of Andrew Heron, also farther north at the foot of King Street, the Guard House, in the middle of the street, close to the water.

On account of the fact that the whole of the buildings in the town were burned except two when the Americans left, many think this was built since but it is not certain that they destroyed the buildings in the outskirts which they were using, these would certainly be left to the last and it is an historic fact that the British coming in sooner than they were expected, the tents of the Americans were left standing, some of the buildings of Butler's Barracks, the hospital and Indian Council House, the powder magazine, then why not one or more of the buildings below Fort George which they must have used.

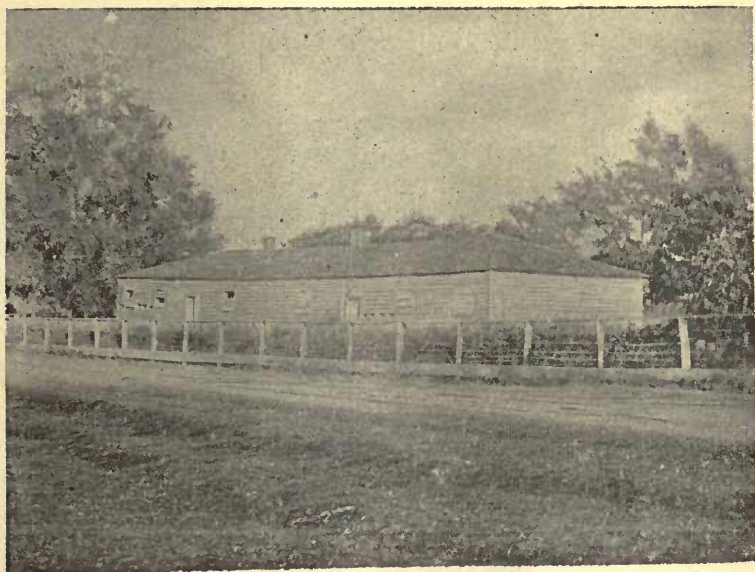
Two or three statements of old residents seem to confirm this ; old Mr. Winterbottom who died lately and who was a boy of eleven at the time of the war always in speaking of this building called it Navy Hall. Mrs. Quade, (whose father was Dominac

Henry, the Light House Keeper,) who was born here in 1804 and lived here till 1831, in her frequent visits to the town, crossing from Youngstown always said to her children when passing this building "that is the old Parliament House". Mr. John Alma a wholesale merchant of the town, and who came here in 1830, stored his goods in this building which was then called Navy Hall, this on the authority of Mrs. Colquhum. All these facts point to the belief that this old house is one of the original buildings which formed Navy Hall.

Here were entertained H. R. H. the Duke of Kent and here on the 4th June 1793, His Majesty's birthday Gov. Simcoe held a levee. Many of the letters of Sir Isaac Brock are dated from Navy Hall and constantly in the Archives of Canada during these early years we find State papers written from or directed to Navy Hall, Niagara. In the issue of Upper Canada Gazette for May 30th, 1793, the expression is used "Council Chamber, Navy Hall" Niagara, shewing that part of the work of the early legislators was done here. Should not then some steps be taken to protect this old building?



Locust Grove, Residence of Mrs. J. W. Ball.



Navy Hall.

Jail and Court House.

The present Western Home which was occupied by Miss Rye's orphan children for twenty-five years was built in 1817 as a Jail and Court House and is well entitled to be called an historic house. The first Jail of the town was situated on the spot known for many years as Graham's Hotel, the Black Swan opposite the Rectory and the Masonic Hall, and an advertisement, Newark 1795 for nails for the use of Jail and Courthouse, signed Ralfe Clench, Superintendent of Public Buildings, shows how early a Jail and Courthouse were necessary. We read that during the war of 1812, there were confined in it and the Block House at one time 400 prisoners, many of them for disloyalty and on the day of the battle of Queenston Heights, there being a brisk cannonade from Fort Niagara on the town and fort, the Jail and Courthouse were soon wrapt in flames from hot shell,

In the Niagara Gleaner 1818 there is a reference to the building of the jail "in that swamp" and in the Spectator of St. Davids, 1816, published by Richard Cockrell, there is an advertisement signed by Ralfe Clench, Clerk of the Peace, District of Niagara, "for the materials required for building the Jail and Courthouse to be delivered between 1st June and 13th July, 50 toises stone, 330 bbls. lime, 200 thousand brick, 20 thousand shingles, squared timber 12x14 of oak and 20,000 feet of pine lumber," the same Ralfe Clench advertising for Jail and Court House in 1795.

In this building, now nearly a century old, many remarkable trials took place and many noted persons were prisoners here. In 1819 Robert Gourlay whose trial is so graphically described by Dent in a passage rivalling the celebrated description by Macaulay of the trial of Warren Hastings, giving a striking word picture of the room, the judge, counsel, prisoner, witnesses, so that the

scene stands vividly before us. Here may yet be seen in the dormitory of these waits and strays from the mother land coming to our far stretching country, above the wide staircase the gallery for spectators but of course many changes have been made since 1870 when it was bought for this philanthropic object.

Our present Courthouse was built in 1847 and the building of 1817 was only used as a jail till St. Catharines became the County Town in 1862 and a jail was built there in 1864. The cruel and harsh treatment of Robert Gourlay and the imprisonment of a Niagara editor for publishing one of his letters, the imprisonment accompanied with a heavy fine and standing in the pillory seems to us in these days a perversion of justice not easily understood. But these were also the days when hanging was punishment for theft as shewn by a notice in the newspaper of 1826. "David Springfield convicted of sheep stealing, sentenced to be hanged; Ben Green stole 10s. sentenced to imprisonment and 30 lashes; Oct. 28th, 1826 great disappointment, great numbers, many from the United States came into town to see three men hung but His Excellency had suspended the sentence. A wagon load of cakes and gingerbread had to be sold at reduced rates." The mingling of the horrible and the grotesque, the desire of the crowds to see the gruesome sight and appeasing their hunger with cakes and gingerbread, is a sad picture of these times. In Sept. 1826 Wm. Corbin and A. Graves sentenced to be hanged each for stealing a horse. In 1837 occurred the remarkable slave rescue which reads to us like a romance too strange to be true. A slave Moseby who had escaped from Kentucky was followed by human bloodhounds and claimed as guilty of stealing his master's horse to escape. While awaiting the decision of the court he was confined in the Niagara jail and when finally an order was given for his return to slavery, a gathering of several hundred blacks watched the jail day and night for two weeks to prevent his being given up. Finally the slave escaped but two of the leaders were shot, the military being called out, the Riot Act read etc. The people of the town generally sympathized with the slave and those who made such efforts to save him from return to bondage.

Here too we read of men being imprisoned for debt, a letter

in a paper of 1832 referring to a charitable lady, Mrs. Stevenson, sending comforts to the prisoners, and the Post Master, John Crooks, sending wood in winter to allay the sufferings from cold. In later days several prisoners were confined here for their share in the Fenian Raid of 1866.

A picture of the jail as it was may be seen in pamphlet No. 2 of our Society and another as it is, and the story of the Slave Rescue. From the appearance now of beautiful flowers, graceful trees and shrubs, one could never imagine that the unmitigated ugliness of the first picture could be transformed into such a scene of beauty as may now be seen. During the twenty-five years of its history as Our Western Home 4000 girls have been sent out from its walls, most of whom have become good citizens, rescued from the over-crowded life of English cities.

The French Count's House.

For by this name was known the residence of Count de Puisaye, a French refugee in the time of the French Revolution, who formed the idea of bringing out from England to a place of refuge in that reign of terror a number of Frenchmen to form a colony. The first appropriation of land was in the county of York but the Count de Puisaye came to Newark and purchased land in 1798 about three miles from Niagara, built a stone house in the French style, part of which still remains. Quetton St. George, whose name was familiar both in Queenston and York was one of the colony. Most of the original building has been taken down but till last summer might still be seen a long low narrow building which formed part of the first edifice. A friend took a kodak view last summer for reproduction in our pages but alas, it was found that just previous to the taking of the picture the house had been modernized so as not to be recognized. Many stories are told of the Count who was a French nobleman of courtly manners, a gentleman of the old school of politeness,—also of one room which seemed to the astonished visitor of those days hung with mirrors, of the brick arch still standing, of the fish ponds,—of the powder magazines and wine cellar. In the war like many other houses the Chateau was used as a hospital.

The Count stayed not many years and the scheme of a French Royalist settlement was abandoned, the Count returning to England, where he died in 1827, but for many years the solid building remained a memorial of the noble French Royalist and even yet, a century later, part of it may be found strong and enduring. He is mentioned by Carlyle, Lamartine and Thiers and we find the name in lands granted to French emigres at Markham and on one of the letters of Surveyor Jones, the improvements at Oak Ridges are mentioned as Puisage's Town.

DUCIT AMOR PATRIÆ.

0000

✦ NO. 8. ✦

NIAGARA HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

: Family History :

o o o o

~~~~~

THE SERVOS FAMILY, by Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C.

THE WHITMORE FAMILY, by Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C.

THE JARVIS LETTERS, by Miss M. A. FitzGibbon, Secretary  
W. H. S., Toronto.

ROBERT LAND, U. E. LOYALIST, by John H. Land.

~~~~~

— 1901. —

— — — — — PRICE 20 CENTS. — — — — —

PREFACE.

IN the fifth of our publications were a few family records. In this, the eighth of the series, we continue family histories. For the first two we are indebted to our distinguished litterateur, who shines as a novelist, poet and historian. "The Servos family" is reprinted by request. "The Whitmore family" has appeared before in a shorter form, but never at its present length. The story of Robert Land is also printed by permission, and the extracts from the Jarvis letters are now printed for the first time. In the pages of John Ross Robertson's History of Free Masonry will be found a long account of the curious dispute between the Niagara Lodge and Wm. Jarvis (the Secretary of Governor Simcoe and also the Grand Master of Lodge No. 2) after he removed to Toronto, then York.

It is the aim of the society to collect and print other family records, many side lights are thus thrown on our history and we would ask all who can assist in this way to do so. They will thus have the consciousness of having helped to add another link to the chain of the history of Niagara.



MR. JOHN WHITMORE.

PREFACE.

IN sending out this, the fourth pamphlet of the Niagara Historical Society, some explanation may be made as to the contents, nearly all relating to the erection of some fitting memorial to the landing on our shores of the United Empire Loyalists, over a century ago. Circulars have been sent to the descendants of such, and others interested, and it is hoped that ere long, something worthy of that event may be erected.

Last year we thought ourselves fortunate in being able to print a paper, read to us by the first president of the Provincial Historical Association, Canon Bull, to whom we owe the first suggestion of such a memorial, and this year we are fortunate in being able to offer a paper, from the facile pen of his successor in the presidency, Mr. Coyne, and also one from the prominent archæologist, Mr. David Boyle, by whose enthusiasm and skill so valuable a collection has been gathered in Toronto, and who has given us such valuable assistance and advice in forming our collection. The eloquent address of Hon J. G. Currie had been delivered previously at one of our meetings, stirring the blood and making us proud of our country, but unfortunately, no notes were preserved, and the address being extempore, we were unable to reproduce it. We think ourselves happy to be the means of giving to the public, and thus preserving, so eloquent and admirable an address, with so much of local coloring. This we are enabled to do by the kindness of Mr. Frank Yeigh, who kindly acceded to our request to take down in shorthand the address, as given on Queenston Heights, and to him we now return our thanks, as well as to the gentlemen who have allowed the papers read by them at various meetings of our society to be published.

We rejoice that so great an interest is now being taken in the history of our country, and earnestly hope that every county, every town, every school section, may do its share in collecting and preserving its local history. The example of the Beaver Dam Historical Society is worthy of emulation, in producing so admirable a history of Thorold, and we extend our hearty congratulations, hoping that others may be encouraged by their example to go and do likewise.

We would bespeak for our own humble efforts a favorable reception.

THE Historical Room is open every Saturday afternoon from 3 to 5.

The pamphlets issued by our Society are:

- No. 1. Taking of Fort George, with illustration of Niagara River, 27th May, 1813, by Major Cruikshank.
- No. 2. (With three illustrations.) Centennial poem by Mrs. Curzon; Fort Niagara, by Canon Bull; Slave rescue in Niagara, 1837, by Miss Carnochan.
- No. 3. Blockade of Fort George, with illustration of Niagara, 1806, by Major Cruikshank.
- No. 4. The present issue.

MEMORIAL

— TO THE —

UNITED EMPIRE LOYALISTS.

Address given by James H. Coyne, Esq., President of the Provincial Historical Association, on the Second Anniversary of the Niagara Historical Society, 17th September, 1897.

This commemoration is marked by features of more than ordinary interest. The year, the place, the day, and the object, must strike the imagination and impress the memory of every patriotic citizen.

We are met in the Jubilee year of Her Majesty's reign, at the original capital of this Province, on the one hundred and fifth anniversary of the first meeting of the Parliament of Upper Canada, take measures for the erection of a fitting memorial in honor of the brave and loyal pioneers who first planted British laws and institutions in the northern half of this continent.

To the student of Canadian history, few places can be more attractive than the old historic town of Niagara. Your river and the great cataract, ever since they were first indicated by Champlain in his map of 1612, have been known more or less to the literature of the world. As one stands on the margin of the mighty current, names and events prominent in the annals of Canada crowd upon the memory.

The shades of De la Roche Daillon, of Brebeuf and Chaumonot—heroic missionaries, intrepid explorers—rise before him. They may have visited this spot as early as 1626 and 1640, respectively. But they left no record of the visit in their accounts of the Country of the Neutrals. In Sanson's map of 1656 the name Ongiara first appears. Possibly it was from Brebeuf and Chaumonot's reports that the name and site were learned by the cartographers, but as to this we are left to conjecture.

And now we are in the year of our Lord 1669 in this same

month of September. Coming from the east is a picturesque procession of canoes. It enters the river's mouth, and from the frail barks step on your bank the first white men, of whose visit there is an authentic record—the Sulpitian priests, Galine' and Dollier de Casson, the dauntless La Salle, and a score of their followers. They heard the distant roar of the mighty cataract, and would gladly have visited it, but the season was late and time pressed, and they had to proceed westward along the lake.

Afterward this spot was familiar enough to the French. On the point across the river La Salle built his fortified warehouse in 1679. On Cayuga Creek above the falls he constructed and launched the "Griffin," the first vessel on the Upper Lakes. Afterward in succession, Denonville, Vandreuil and Pouchot erected fortifications on the east side, where the Niagara enters Lake Ontario. There Prideaux and Colonel Johnson fell in the assault in 1759, when Sir Wm. Johnson took command of the British forces and entered Fort Niagara in triumph, having amongst his officers such men as Colonel Butler, Chief Joseph Brant and Daniel Servos, names intimately associated with the history of your settlement at a later date. Pontiac's war a few years later was signalized on the Niagara frontier by the disasters to the British forces at the fitly-named Devil's Hole.

During the century that had elapsed since the Sulpitian priests first paddled up the Niagara, many a famous traveller had visited its forts and falls. Hennepin, Tonty, Lafitadu, Lapontan, La Potherie, Charlevoix, are names more or less associated with Niagara in the history of exploration and travel.

A centre of the fur trade, Niagara was the resort of savage tribes from the remote northwest, and many negotiations were carried on outside its fort by the French commandant or commissioners with the dusky diplomats of the forest, down to the time when Pouchot surrendered his sword to Sir William Johnson.

The Revolution transformed Niagara into a refuge for the Loyalists, including 5,000 Indians of the Six Nations under Brant, John Deseronto and the famous Seneca chief, Sakoyenwaraghton. Its fort was the centre of British operations in the Northwest, and dearly did the Loyalists, white and red, requite the persecutions and plunderings they had experienced at the hands of the rebellious

colonists.

When the war closed, it was here at the foot of King street that the loyal refugees crossed over by thousands to take up land in the virgin province which still remained under the old flag. Ten thousand of them settled in Upper Canada during 1784. Then came the hungry year of which Mr. Wm. Kirby has sung so well. But the dark clouds passed and plenty soon smiled again over the land. The settlers brought with them their instinct for liberty and self government, and this led to the establishment of representative institutions amongst them by the Constitutional Act of 1791. Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, of the Queen's Rangers, was perhaps the fittest man in the Empire to be chosen as the King's representative in the new province. The characteristic qualities of the Loyalists were exemplified in him in the highest degree, and he deserves and has received by general consent a high niche in the pantheon of Canadian history. There are two events of the year 1792 which ought to be perpetuated upon canvas.

The first historic picture will represent the landing at Niagara of the first governor of Upper Canada, accompanied by his staff, including his secretaries Littlehales and Talbot. He is received in due form by the assembled troops, comprising Butler's Rangers, the regulars of Fort Niagara and the militia of United Empire Loyalists, many of whom had served under the new governor when he was in command of the Queen's Rangers during the war. The Six Nations' Indians are there under their redoubtable chief, Joseph Brant. Fort Niagara welcomes the King's representative with the thunder of its guns. His replies to the loyal addresses presented are received with enthusiastic cheers and cries of God Save the King from the assembled multitude.

Under such auspices the first lieutenant-governor of Upper Canada enters upon his vice-royalty.

The next picture would represent the opening of the first parliament of the province, 105 years ago this day. Yonder where now stand the ruins of Fort George, floated proudly in the breeze the red cross flag for which the settlers had sacrificed so much; for it represented the United Empire, the object of their fealty and oyal attachment. Red men and white are ranged round. The Six Nations under Brant, the Mohawks of the Bay of Quinte

under John Deseronto, Mississaugas and Chippewas from the Sault Ste Marie in all their finery and feathers are there in full force. In their quaint old regimentals stood the regular troops and rangers—in three-cornered hats with hair in queues; clad in knee breeches and long stockings, and long coats and vests. Among the spectators are the ladies in their 18th century garb. The governor is preceded by bands of music and guards of honor, and a royal salute is fired from the fort. Chief Justice Osgoode and Captain John McDonell of Glengarry are the Speakers of the respective Houses. Surrounding the governor or before him are men eminent for military service under the Crown: Sir John Johnson, Colonel Claus, Guy Johnson, Colonel Johnson from Lake Huron, Colonel Butler of the Rangers, Colonel McKee, Samuel Street, Thomas Clark, Daniel and Jacob Servos and many others. Mr. Kirby has given a graphic description of the scene.

The opening of the first Parliament of Upper Canada was an epoch in the history of the British empire. Its importance was appreciated by Simcoe, who showed impressively his sense of the greatness of the occasion in such words as these:

“The great and momentous trusts and duties which have been committed to the representatives of this province in a degree infinitely beyond whatever till this period have distinguished any other colony, have originated from the British nation upon a just consideration of the energy and hazard with which the inhabitants have so conspicuously supported and defended the British constitution.”

Through seven long years of struggle, persecution and suffering, the Loyalists had proved their devotion to a great principle. Your own honored citizen, Mr. Wm. Kirby, has told in noble verse how, after the close of the war of revolution,

“They, who loved

“The cause that had been lost, and kept their faith

“To England’s crown, and scorned an alien name,

“Passed into exile; leaving all behind

“Except their honor and the conscious pride

“Of duty done to country and to king.”

To such men hewing out new homes for themselves in the northern forest, and guarding the faith they had kept as the palla-

United Empire Loyalists of Canada.

MEMORIALS OF THE SERVOS FAMILY.

(*By William Kirby, F.R.S.C.*)

(The following article first appeared in the Canadian Methodist Magazine in 1883, was reprinted by the Lundy's Lane Historical Society and is now by their permission and that of the author reprinted by us, many requests having been made to this effect, the L.L. edition being exhausted.)

The existence at the present time of two great distinct political confederacies in North America, the United States and the Dominion of Canada, is primarily owing to the long continuous movements of two opposing sections or parties of the English people in the land of our common ancestors; the party of monarchical and the party of republican tendencies, divisions which seem to be inherent in human nature itself,

The Revolution of 1642 was the culmination of Puritan ascendancy in England, the reaction restored the royal authority in the Constitution. The distinct party lines of English politics take their modern form and under various names have come down to us from that time to the present. It will be found that those party struggles in the mother land furnish the key that unlocks the secret of British Canadian politics, principles, and tendencies—as distinct from the politics, principles, and tendencies of the United States—differences which perpetuate the division of North America into two distinct and rival, but not, it is hoped, unfriendly nations.

To understand the true genius and origin of the English-speaking people in Canada we have to go back to the settlement of the New England Colonies by the thwarted and, to some extent, persecuted Puritans of the seventeenth century. They left

their native land, full of bitterness, with no love for either its Church or monarchy. The English Commonwealth had been their ideal of civil government, and from the very first settlement of the Puritans in Massachusetts their steady endeavor and policy was to separate themselves from the mother country and erect their ideal in a Republican Church and State on this continent.

The germ of the American revolt was planted in New England from its very origin, and nothing the mother country could do for them—wars with France, undertaken in their behalf, the conquest of Canada, tens of thousands of lives lost, and hundreds of millions of British money spent in protecting them—was of any avail to excite a loyal and kindly feeling towards the mother country. There were, of course, thousands of New England men who formed honorable exceptions to the general dissaffection of the Puritan population ; but they were outnumbered and overborne by their discontented fellow-countrymen.

In other colonies it was quite different. New York was colonized first by the Dutch and then by the English ; the English settlers of New York were largely loyalist in principle. The same may be said of New Jersey, while the Quaker element in Pennsylvania and the German settlers were for the most part loyal and well affected to the Empire.

It is not necessary here to go over the causes of the disputes which arose at first in New England with regard to the mother country. The questions once raised grew rapidly to a head. The Stamp Act and the Revenue Acts of Great Britain, very impolitic certainly, yet in their intention good and excusable, were a bad means of bringing round a good end, namely, to supplement the want of a *united common government* among all the Colonies. These proposed measures raised the popular clamor in America. The infection of disloyalty to the Empire was zealously propagated from New England, and the people of all the Colonies, according to their sentiment and opinions, became divided into two great parties which in the end developed into the party of the Unity of the Empire; the former tending to a severance and the latter to the maintenance of the old National ties with the mother land.

Of the progress of that great debate, and of the fierce and warlike tempers which it evoked, and of its final effect upon Canada, this memoir will afford some interesting evidence.

If the seeds of disloyalty were sown in the New England Colonies from the beginning, so it is equally certain that the seeds of loyal connection with the Crown and Empire of Britain were sown in Canada and have ever borne the noblest and most glorious fruits. The settlement of this country by the expatriated loyalists of America was the leaven that has leavened the whole lump of Canadian nationality, and made this country what, I trust, it may never alter from—the most loyal, orderly and progressive part of Britain's Empire.

Yet we know and regret that modern history—English history through absolute ignorance, American history through suppression or misrepresentation of facts—fails to do the slightest justice to the men who founded this Dominion. I speak not with reference to our French fellow-subjects, but to the United Empire Loyalists who have given Canada its form and pressure, stamping upon it the seal of the Crown, the emblem of the grandest Empire the world ever saw. *Esto Perpetua !*

This memoir of personal history was written solely as a family record, to preserve traditions that have for a century been kept warm by the fireside. It relates to a family in respectable middle life, which may be taken as completely representative of the great body of loyalists who founded Upper Canada.

The true history of Canada cannot be written without deep study and investigation into the principles, motives and acts of the American loyalists. Yet how little does professed history record of them !

English writers on this subject, with a few exceptions, take their views at second-hand from American sources, and I have failed to find more than one American writer who is able or willing to do justice to one-half of the American people who, during the revolutionary struggle, sided with the mother country ; and when defeated at last in their efforts to preserve the unity of the Empire, left their estates, homes, and honorable positions in every department of life, and betook themselves to the wilds of Nova Scotia,

New Brunswick, and Canada, to start life afresh under the flag which they refused to forsake.

The Americans have held their Centennial of Independence to commemorate the breaking up of the Empire in 1776. The descendants of the U. E. Loyalists are proposing to celebrate in Toronto in 1884 the Centennial of the arrival in Upper Canada of the expatriated loyal Americans who founded this province.

That great design has been warmly taken up by many descendants of the loyalists in Ontario. It will do much to present to the world, the opposite side of the great American question of the past century, and show the true grounds and reasons of Canadian adherence to the British Empire—grounds and reasons which are too little understood except by our own people, who in the quiet of their homes live in the solid enjoyment of British freedom, law and security, and desire no other.

The following memoir of the Servos family is given as a typical example of the fortunes and fidelity of that old U. E. Loyalist stock to which Canada owes so much :

After the conclusion of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, when the country had measurably recovered from the ruin and devastation of that period of trial and suffering in the Fatherland, the ambition of France and the thirst for glory in the young King Louis XIV. again plunged Germany into a long war in which he wrested from her the ancient principality of Alsace and annexed it to France, and which only in our day, 1870, has been reconquered and restored to Germany.

The reign of Louis XIV. and that of his contemporary Leopold the First of Austria, were memorable for the long, persistent and cruel persecutions of the Protestants in the dominions of each of those sovereigns. It were hard to tell to which of them the bloody palm was most due.

Louis, after years of persecution against the most industrious and enlightened of his subjects, at last repealed the Edict of Nantes, and with it the only guarantee for toleration in France. The Huguenots were persecuted and proscribed ; they escaped by the tens of thousands from France to England and wherever an asylum afforded itself.

Leopold of Austria was equally harsh and intolerant. Hungary was the chief seat of Protestantism in his dominions. A fierce persecution was directed against them with the result of expelling thousands of Hungarian Protestants, who found refuge in the Protestant states of Germany, Holland and England.

Among the Protestant refugees from Hungary, about the middle of the seventeenth century, were the ancestors of the Servos family, of whom a brief account is here recorded.

On the right bank of the Rhine, eight miles below Coblenz, lay the ancient principality of Wied, a principality of the Empire and the inheritance of a long line of liberal and enlightened rulers. Their residence was the old feudal castle of Wied, overlooking the broad Rhine and a fertile domain of vineyards, cornfields, and meadows, towns and villages which gave the title to their princes, of Counts of Wied and Lords of Runkel and Issenberg.

The most remarkable of these Counts of Wied was Prince Alexander, who in the beginning of the seventeenth century founded the town of Neu Wied on the Rhine, and made it the seat of his Government, instead of the old city of Alt Wied, which had previously been the capital.

Prince Alexander, at the time of the persecutions in France and Hungary, offered his protection and a free asylum to men of every religion in his new city of Neu Wied, which offer was gladly and eagerly accepted by the persecuted Huguenots and Hungarians, a great many of whom flocked in and took up their abode under the noble Prince of Wied. The city greatly prospered, and soon became a bright landmark in Southern Germany, known throughout Europe as a city of refuge for the persecuted Protestants of the continent.

Among the refugees from Hungary were the family of Servos. They were probably Hungarian, of Servian origin, as this is a Hungarian form for Serbos, pronounced Servos, meaning Servian. They settled in Alt Wied, and subsequently removed to the new city of Neu Wied where they lived and prospered, some of them taking up the military profession in the service of their adopted and afterwards of their native prince.

Christopher Servos, born at Alt Wied about 1670, is the first

whom we shall particularize as the ancestor of the Canadian branch of the family. He entered the service of the Prince of Wied as a private soldier of his guard in 1687, and in which by successive promotions, he attained the rank of officer. He served in the army thirty-nine years and nine months ; he went through the great campaigns of Marlborough. serving in the German contingent which formed a large part of the army of that great commander.

On the termination of his long and honorable military service, Christopher Servos being then a man well in years, with a wife and family of six grown children, determined to emigrate to one of the English colonies of North America, about which he had heard a good deal during his campaigns with the English armies.

Prince Frederick William, of Wied, the reigning prince at that time, gave him the most honorable discharge from the military service, and with it a large letter of introduction and recommendation under his own hand and seal, to the Governors of New York and Pennsylvania, in one of which provinces he intended to settle.

This letter, written in old German on parchment, with the signature and seal of the Prince of Wied, is still preserved by the family, and is now in the possession of Capt. Alexander D. K. Servos, Niagara Township. It recommends Christopher Servos to the respective Governors of the Province of New York and Pennsylvania, and reads as follows:

“ We, Frederick Wilhelm, of the Holy Roman Empire, Count of Wied and Lord of Runkel and Issenberg, do hereby declare that Christopher Servos, a native of our principality, entered our military service in the year 1687. He served in our Guard as a musqueteer twelve years, as corporal five years, sergeant fifteen years, and as Landsfahndrick seven years and nine months, in all thirty-nine years and nine months. During this service he was always distinguished as a brave and honorable man, faithful in the performance of every military duty and in all the relations of life of strictest integrity, upright and honorable as becomes a faithful soldier to be.

“ We, therefore, of our own motion and free will, under-

standing that he desires to emigrate to America with his wife and six children, do hereby grant him an honorable discharge from our service, and release him from all our spiritual and civil jurisdictions, declaring hereby the great satisfaction we have had from his long and honorable services. Not desiring to lose him, yet since of his own desire he has resolved to go with his wife and six children to America, the better to provide for their future welfare, and will betake himself either to New York or Philadelphia, and in order that he may be favorably received by the Honorable Governors of New York or Pennsylvania as a man every way worthy of their assistance and patronage, we recommend the said Christopher Servos to them, pledging ourselves by any means in our power to the said Honorable Governors to reciprocate any kindness, good-will and assistance which they may be pleased to show to the said Christopher Servos.

“And in order to ratify these presents, we subscribe them with our own hand and order them to be sealed with the great seal of our principality.

“Given in this our Residenz Hoff at Neu Wied am Rhein,

— “April 27, 1726.

“FREDERICK,”

In the summer of 1726, Christopher Servos with his family embarked for North America, where this worthy pioneer of German emigration duly arrived and landed at New York. We can imagine the stout, rigid old German soldier of forty years' service calling and presenting his letter of introduction to Governor Burnet—a clever man, the son of the famous Bishop Burnet—who doubtless received him most kindly. Whether he obtained from the Governor a grant of lands, or whether he purchased lands, is not now known, but he presently acquired possession of a large tract on the Charlotte River, near Schoharie, in the province of New York, and settled there with his sons, who were young men and commenced to clear the lands and make a new home for his family.

His sons were intelligent, energetic, and trustworthy men. They cleared several farms, built grist and saw mills and started stores, as the fashion then was, upon the frontier settlements, traded with the Indians, and in time became prosperous, rich and

widely known. The Servos settlement on the Charlotte was one of the landmarks of the frontier of the Province of New York and Pennsylvania until the Revolution. Old Christopher Servos died at a very advanced age, but in what year is not known. His sons true to the military spirit of their father, held commissions in the Provincial Militia, and served under Sir William Johnson and Colonel John Butler in the French war. They were at the battle of Lake George, 1754, and at the siege of Fort Niagara, 1759. The family were on familiar and intimate terms with Sir William Johnson, one of their sisters marrying a near relative of Sir William—Colonel Johnson—whom she accompanied through all the campaigns of the French war. That lady came to Canada and died at the Servos homestead, Niagara Township, in 1811 at the great age of one hundred and four years, and is buried in the family burying ground, Lake Road, Niagara, where a monument records her memory. This is on the Servos homestead now owned by Mrs. Mary Servos widow of the late Col. Peter C. Servos.

After the close of the French war, the sons of Christopher Servos devoted themselves afresh to farming, milling, and merchandise, and prospered much. As magistrates, men of business, and officers of the militia, they were greatly respected throughout the district where they resided.

When the agitation preceding the revolution began in the Colony of New York, the Servos estates were held by sons and grandsons of the old German soldier from the Rhine. The eldest of these and the acknowledged head of the family, was Thomas Servos, a man of large property and great business on the Charlotte River, who had four sons, young men, living with him at home.

The troubles of the Colonies arose mainly out of the permanent disaffection of the Puritan element in New England, which was disloyal from the very origin of its settlement in Massachusetts; but the constant wars with France and the dangers ever dreaded from Canada, kept down open manifestations of disloyalty, until the conquest of Canada relieved New England of all fear of France, and enabled the heads of disaffection to be raised with boldness.

The way in which some of the Colonies had shirked their obligations in regard to their quotas of troops and money to be furnished for carrying on the war with France had long been a standing grievance, trouble and complaint.

As is well known, the proposal for a Colonial union in 1754, at the commencement of the last French war, was mainly intended to equalize the common share of public expenditures and the quotas of troops and the money to be furnished by the respective Colonies. The failure of the Convention that met at Albany to establish an equitable union of the Colonies, was the true reason of the measures taken up after the conquest of Canada, to equalize by Act of Parliament of Great Britain the contributions of the several Colonies to the common object of the defence of America.

As was remarked, the quotas of money and troops to be furnished by the respective Colonies for the French war had been most unequally paid, some Colonies giving their full shares, others evading their dues in the most dishonest manner. There was no central authority to compel payment but England, and she had no constitutional machinery to take the task properly upon herself.

The passing of the Stamp Act was an effort—a rash and injudicious one—to raise a common fund for the military defence of the Colonies, and do for them what had failed to be accomplished by the projected union of 1754.

The great error of this policy was in the British Government not considering that strong constitutional objection would be raised to the Imperial Parliament's legislating on a matter of great public concern which should only be legislated upon by a Parliament of the Colonies themselves. England should have insisted on the project of union being carried out which would have enabled the Colonies to do for themselves constitutionally what the necessity of the case required. The Stamp Act and the other Revenue Bills, the proceeds of which were to be wholly spent in America, were wrong attempts to do a right thing, viz., to make the Colonies deal fairly and honestly by each other and contribute equitably to the common burden of their defence and government.

An immense agitation was started in New England over the Stamp Act which, by political arts, was extended to the other

Colonies.

The Province of New York was on the whole loyal to British connection; its local politics had long been headed by the Delancy and Livingstone families respectively, the former representing the Tory, the latter the Whig party, with the preponderance generally in favor of the former. The Tories or loyalists generally disapproved of the Stamp Act and other measures of like nature, but theirs was a loyal, constitutional opposition, and few at first of the Whigs even in New York, outside of a band of professed agitators in the city, headed by one McDougal, the publisher of a violent Whig newspaper, ever contemplated revolution.

The loyal party while disapproving of many of the measures of the Imperial Government, saw nothing in them of sufficient importance to justify the factious clamour that was raised in Boston, which they well understood as arising not so much from fear of oppression and taxation, as from the natural disaffection of the New England people, and the selfish interests of the merchants of Boston, who, like Hancock, had grown rich by their systematic violation of the customs and trade regulations of the Colony.

The Stamp Act was a god-send to these people, in giving them a taxation cry, and presenting the question before the people, as a violation of their constitutional rights.

The loyalists of the Revolution were not blind defenders of arbitrary and unconstitutional power, any more than the Whigs were the virtuous assertors of pure liberty, which they pretended to be. The former, while admitting the impolicy of the Stamp Act and other revenue measures, saw nothing in them to warrant the disruption of the Empire. The majority of the people were opposed to violence. The Colonial Assembly, lawfully representing the whole people of New York, was loyal to British connection, and refused to sanction the Declaration of Independence.

The election of the so-called Provincial Congress of New York, chosen by Whig partizans exclusively (the loyalists being disfranchised unless they would swear allegiance to Congress), threw New York into the most violent civil war of any of the Colonies. The Provincial Congress of the State decreed the confiscation of the property of all persons who adhered to their lawful

Government. Loyalists were arrested, proscribed and declared to be "traitors" by men who were themselves legally and undeniably the only traitors in the Colony!

The most wealthy of the loyal people of New York were marked out for plunder, the most spirited for arrest and confinement. Men who had been born in the Colony and lived all their lives creditably as good subjects—magistrates, officers of militia, members of Assembly, merchants, farmers and clergymen, who had taken the oaths of allegiance to the King, and upon whose consciences these oaths were held binding—were required, on pain of losing both property and liberty, to fall in with the revolutionary course of the Whigs and swear allegiance to the rebel Congress.

The majority of the people of the Province of New York refused to become rebels, and would undoubtedly, if left to themselves, have preserved New York from revolution. The temporizing and conciliation policy of Lord Howe and General Clinton enabled the Whigs to terrorize the people of the interior until the whole civil administration of the Colony was overthrown and the seizure of the persons and leading loyalists led speedily to the fierce civil war that followed.

It is undeniable that the loyalist party in the Colonies was composed chiefly of native Americans and of the better and more wealthy classes of society, while the bulk of the Whigs outside of New England was composed of the foreign element, needy emigrants of late arrival, which formed the main strength of the continental army as distinct from the militia of the several States. It was the consciousness of this fact that caused the loyal and venerable Seabury, afterwards consecrated first Bishop of the Anglican Church in the United States to exclaim in retort to some Whig persecutors: "No! If I must be enslaved, let it be to a King, and not to a parcel of upstart, lawless committee-men! If I must be devoured, let it be by the jaws of a lion, and not gnawed to death by rats and vermin!"

At this time which, it was said, 'tried men's souls,' the descendants of Christopher Servos were one and all loyal to the King and to British connection. They were neither to be frightened nor cajoled out of their principles. Thomas Servos, the head of

the family, was a man of clear mind and independent character. He had served in the French war with honor—had taken oath of allegiance as a magistrate and a military officer to the King, and was not one to ever think of breaking it.

The Servos family were all men of determined character. They were obnoxious in a high degree to the Whig committees of the Schoharie Country, whom they opposed and kept down with a prompt and heavy hand and they had prevented the carrying out of the Whig programme in all their section of the Charlotte. The committee reported to General Washington their inability to establish the Revolution in that part of the Province, and called upon him to furnish a military force to aid them in subduing the loyalist population of the Charlotte. Their request for troops was complied with, and a body of cavalry was despatched to overawe the people and arrest the principal loyalist inhabitants of Schoharie and the valley of the Charlotte. Thomas Servos was, in June 1778, living quietly at home, attending to his farms and mills, when the expedition sent to arrest him entered the valley and suddenly surrounded his house ; it was in the night but the family were still up. The four sons of Thomas Servos were all away at the time. His wife, a worthy lady of Dutch family, with his son Daniel's wife and his grand-daughter Magdalene, three years old, with the servants, white and black, were all that were in the house.

The cavalry rode up suddenly to the door, and the house was surrounded before any alarm was given. Their leader called for Thomas Servos, who went out to speak to him. Seeing the state of affairs and guessing at once their business, he went back into the house to pacify his family and bade them be prepared to face quietly with courage whatever fate was before them. The officers Long, Murphy and Ellerson, with several of their men, dismounted and went into the house, and with much irritating language proceeded rudely to arrest Servos, and ordered him to accompany them as their prisoner to Albany. He refused, and when Murphy laid hands on him, he broke away and took up an axe that lay near and lifted it to defend himself, when he was instantly shot by the rifle of Ellerson and fell dead upon his

hearthstone.

The women of the household were not injured, but the house was ransacked and plundered of its money and valuables of every kind. The troops then rode off rapidly, fearing an attack from the loyalists of the valley as soon as the news of the murder of Servos should be known. The dead body of the father of the family they left on the hearth, lamented over by the women and servants, while the troopers returned in great triumph to their camp with the plunder they had carried off, and boasting of the murder they had perpetrated.

The two young sons of Thomas Servos returned home from the woods. Seeing the house surrounded by rebel troops and not knowing what had happened, they watched on the edge of the forest until the troops departed, then ran in and found their father killed and their mother and the rest of the family in great distress. The boys aroused the neighbors, who promptly armed themselves and came to the house too late to do any good.

Thomas Servos was buried in the family ground. The boys placed their mother and the wife and child of Daniel with relations who gladly received them, and then took to the woods and made their way towards Niagara in order to join the Regiment of Butler's Rangers in which their brother Daniel served. As a matter of course, the whole of the large estates of the Servos family were confiscated, and the owners of them were proscribed by the revolutionary Convention.

The murder of Thomas Servos was not unavenged by his sons, for very shortly after his death, Jacob Servos was despatched, with the Indian chief Brant and a force of loyalists and Indians down the Schoharie to destroy the forts that had been erected there—three in number—and to clear the country of the enemy and bring in such of the loyalist families as desired to escape to Canada. The four sons of Thomas Servos were conspicuous for their military services throughout the revolutionary war. Daniel was a captain, and two of his brothers privates, in Butler's Rangers. Jacob was an officer in the Northern Confederate Indians. They were at Oriskany, Wyoming and other engagements on the frontiers of New York and Pennsylvania.

The war, dragging through a period of eight years, seemed at times as if the rebellion had collapsed, and would end in the restoration of the Empire. It is not too much to say that one-half of the people of the Colonies outside of New England, if they had been left to themselves, were against the Revolution. In 1781 Washington's army was reduced to 7,000 men, unpaid, starved, and mutinous to the last degree, and less in number than that of the loyalist Americans serving in the British army. In the winter of 1781-82, it really seemed as if the time had come that Washington would have to surrender. His whole Pennsylvania line had mutinied and left him, and it only needed a vigorous attack from Clinton to put an end to the war altogether. But vigour was no attribute of that general. He temporized and delayed until even the gentle poet Cowper, in his *Task*, could not but express his indignation :

“Have our troops awaked?
Or do they still as if with opium drugged,
Snore to the music of the Atlantic wave?”

At that critical moment the Government of France, which had narrowly watched the progress of affairs, saw that it was at last necessary to strike in all their force in order to save the Revolution. They did so. A French army and a powerful fleet were sent to the rescue. That combined movement of the French fleet with Washington's force was suddenly made on Yorktown, where Cornwallis had gone to meet the reinforcements of Clinton from New York. As is known, the French and Americans arrived in Yorktown first. They attacked Cornwallis with an overpowering strength, and compelled him to surrender only a week before the tardy reinforcements of Clinton appeared off Yorktown, which would have turned the scale the other way.

Party spirit in England completed the victory over Cornwallis. The Government was compelled by a vote of the House, to accept overtures of peace on the basis of recognition of the independence of the Colonies. The cause of the Empire was even then far from lost, and, as is known, no persons in America were more surprised than Washington and Adams, in 1783, at the sudden and unexpected offer of peace from England.

The recognition of the independence of the Colonies completed the ruin of the loyalists, for though the treaty of peace contained stipulations for the security of their persons and property, and for the collection of their debts, those stipulations were everywhere shamefully evaded. Congress made the treaty, but these stipulations were left to the separate States for performance. The loyalists were everywhere persecuted. Their property that had been confiscated was in no instance restored, they were disqualified from civil rights and from voting at elections; and, in short, life in their native country was made intolerable to them. They left their country in tens of thousands to seek a new home under the flag for which they had fought so long and so bravely. It is estimated that up to November, 1784, a hundred thousand loyalists left the port of New York alone. Charleston and Savannah, Philadelphia, Baltimore and even Boston added thousands more to the number of refugees, while upwards of ten thousand loyalists from the interior of New York and Pennsylvania traversed the vast wilderness of forests and took up their future homes in Canada, forming settlements at various points from the Detroit River to the St. Lawrence.

Such a wholesale flight of the most respectable, intelligent, and industrious population of any country had not been since the exile of the French Protestants after the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, 1687.

While the United States lost the very best and most moral of their people, Canada was the gainer by having its territory settled and the foundation of its greatness laid by the advent of these loyal, high principled men, who preferred starting the world anew in the wilderness, rather than be untrue to their King and the British flag, which was their own native symbol.

The King, in order to relieve their sufferings and trials, granted them lands in Canada and the other provinces—to every loyalist, man, woman and child, and every child born of them, two hundred acres of land. These "United Empire Grants," as they were called, formed the inheritance of the people of Canada, and are a perpetual reminder of the loyalty of the founders of our Province, who have impressed their character upon it to this day.

Parliament voted fifteen million dollars by way of partial indemnity for the losses of the loyalists. But as Daniel Servos said :— “It was impossible to pay for the loss of a continent, and the King was the greatest loser of all ! None of the Servos family would apply for any share of that indemnity.” Three of the brothers settled in the Niagara District, and one at the Long Sault, near Cornwall.

Strangers ask, “Why are the British North Americans so loyal to Britain and to the Empire ? If they had read our true history, they would know and not wonder at it. A higher and more ennobling character is not to be found in any nation.

Fort Niagara was one of the posts retained by the British on account of the evasion by the Americans of the Articles of the Peace of 1783, relating to the property and debts of the loyalists. It was not given up to the Americans until 1796, when the American Government, by Jay's treaty, engaged afresh to allow the loyalists to recover their lands and debts, The fort was then ceded to them, but, as is known, neither the treaty of 1783 nor Jay's treaty of 1795, has, as to these stipulations, been carried out up to the present time, and it is safe to say never will be.

Upon the breaking out of the war of 1812, the three sons of Captain Daniel Servos, with the traditional spirit and loyalty of their race, took up arms in defence of their King and country. They all held commissions as officers in the First Lincoln Militia, under the command of Cols. Butler and Claus, They served in all the engagements on the Niagara frontier. Captain John D. Servos superintended the transhipment of the boats across the land from the Four-mile Creek to the Niagara River, on the night of the 18th of December, to convey the troops across for the assault on Fort Niagara, which took place before daybreak on the morning of 19th December 1813, six days after the burning and evacuation of the town of Niagara by the enemy. He and his brother Daniel were active in the storming and capture of that fort, as their father before them had been in its capture from the French in 1759.

The widow of Capt. Daniel Servos of the Revolution was a woman of great spirit and resolution. It is related of her that

during the occupation of Niagara by the Americans, from May to December, 1813, marauding parties of the enemy plundered the houses in the country without mercy, there being usually only the women of the family at home, the men being away with the army. A party of eleven marauders rode out one day to the house of Capt. John Servos, where she lived, and began to search the house for valuables and money. Not much was found, as such articles were generally buried in the ground during the war. On turning up a bed the party found a new regimental red coat of her son, Capt. John, which they began to cut to pieces with their swords with many derisive and offensive remarks, which fired the old lady with such anger (she was Welsh by the way) that she gave them a plain piece of her mind, calling them cowards, who would not have dared look at the coat if her son had it on! This enraged the officer in command of the party so much that he grew savage and dealt the old lady a violent blow on the breast with the hilt of his sword, wounding her severely, from the effects of which blow she never recovered, but suffered acutely from it until her death.

The short, futile rebellion of McKenzie, in 1837, found the old hereditary spirit active as ever in the three brothers. On the news of the rising of McKenzie, near Toronto, Colonel Servos immediately ordered the First Lincoln out on the Queen's service, and although its limits extended nearly forty miles, the famous old regiment assembled next day on the common at Niagara, nineteen hundred strong. The rebellion was suppressed at Toronto as soon almost as started, but on the occupation of Navy Island by McKenzie, Colonel Servos did duty at Chippawa with his regiment until the evacuation of the Island in January, 1837. His brother, Capt. D. K. Servos, of Barton, led his troop of cavalry, under the command of Colonel McNab, to the township of Scotland, and put out all sparks of rebellion in that quarter.

After the peace of 1783, Capt Daniel Servos, formerly of Charlotte River, relying on the stipulations of that treaty for the recovery of the lands and debts of the loyalists, went from Niagara on horseback through the wilderness—well known to him however—down to his former home, in order to bring back his little

daughter, Magdalene, then nine years old, whom he had left with her mother's relations during the war, and also to recover, if possible, his estates and the debts owing to him. The lands he found irrecoverable, notwithstanding the treaty. The state of New York, in order to secure the Whig spoils, had immediately after the treaty legislated afresh on the subject, and effectually prevented the claims of any loyalist from being prosecuted in the State Courts. The debts were placed in the same condition. Nothing could be got back from the greedy hands which had seized them, and, except in the case of a few honorable men, former loyalists, who paid their debts, all the rest repudiated their liabilities and set him at defiance. And as no State Court would allow suit he gave up the attempt and returned to his new home at Niagara with his little daughter, thankful that by the liberality of the King and his own efforts he could live in Canada in plenty. He returned home by way of Oswego, coasting in an open boat along the south shore of Lake Ontario from Oswego to Niagara. That child, Magdalene, became in time the mother of the wife—still living—of the writer of this memoir.

The descendants of this loyal old family are numbered by hundreds in various parts of Upper Canada, being very numerous with their collaterals, the Whitmores and others, in the County of Lincoln. It is safe to say that not a disloyal man has ever been found among them.

This narrative may be taken as fairly representative of that of thousands of American loyalists, who in the war of Revolution "stood for the King," and whose brave and self-sacrificing exertions in defence of the unity of the Empire brought ruin upon themselves in their ancient homes, but was the making and glory of Canada by filling this Dominion with men of such chosen virtue "If England," as a Puritan divine once boasted, "was winnowed of its choice grain for the sowing of America," it is certain that America was reaped and winnowed afresh at the Revolution, and its very choicest men selected by Providence for the peopling of this Dominion. By the loss of these men America was drained of its best elements, and suffered a moral loss which it could ill spare.

The obligations of duty in defence of right against the many or against, the few, fidelity to the flag and Empire, fear of God and honor of the King, keeping inviolate their oaths of allegiance and their very thoughts free from sedition, privy conspiracy and rebellion,—all these things were summed up in the one word, "Loyalty," as understood by the men who left the United States to live under their native flag in Canada.

Some of the best and wisest men of the United States have brushed aside the thick covering of fiction and obloquy cast over the memory of these men in popular American histories, and do not conceal their admiration of their character, courage, and devotion to the highest principles for which they sacrificed everything except their honour. Truth will have its revenge in justice at last, and I venture to say that a century hence, America will be more proud of her exiled loyalists than of the vaunted patriots who banished and despoiled them.



MEMOIR OF THE WHITMORE FAMILY OF NIAGARA.

(*By Wm. Kirby, F.R.S.C.*)

The family of Whitmore, closely connected with that of Servos, is of English origin—long settled in New Jersey whence they removed, a few years before the revolution, to the Susquehanna, where they acquired the farm on which they lived, near the present town of Shamokin in Pennsylvania, now called Jersey Town, Columbia Co., Penn. The head of the family, Peter Whitmore, a man of integrity and piety, greatly respected by all, had taken no active part on either side in the revolutionary strife—lamenting it sincerely—but in those days of Whig committee terrorism, as was said, "To be quiet was disaffection and to be loyal was treason." The known loyal sentiments of Mr. Whitmore and his refusal to be bound by oaths to the congressional usurpation was sufficient to condemn him, and this good, quiet, Christian man and his fam-

ily became involved in a fate worse than befell most others in that lawless and violent period. His family consisted of himself, his wife, three sons, one a young man, the late John Whitmore, of Niagara, was then four years old, and four daughters, the eldest fourteen years old and the youngest a babe of a few months.

In July 1779 some Oneida and Delaware Indians with a few white ruffians, in the American service, during the advance of General Sullivan up the Mohawk, knocked at the door and obtained an entrance into the house of Mr. Whitmore. They had been seen the evening before by the eldest daughter, Mary, when she went to a spring near the woods for water. She told her parents but they felt no alarm, knowing they were safe if they were British Indians. They readily opened the door to them when they claimed admission. The leader was a Delaware named De Coignee. It was the custom on the frontier to be very liberal in hospitality to the Indians when they visited the homes of the white inhabitants. The party, some twenty in number, at once commenced to ransack the house, the whites accompanying them began to insult Mr. Whitmore and his son in the coarsest terms as Tories, and the women and girls with foul epithets. The father knowing how useless was opposition did not reply except by kind expostulations, but the son, a spirited young man could not stand it and replied to them warmly.

He was violently struck by one of the white men and immediately returned the blow. Tomahawks were drawn by the Indians. The father interfered to save his son when a general attack was made upon the unoffending family, the father, the mother and the eldest son were at once killed. The house was fired. The three girls and the boy John, his brother George and the baby were carried off prisoners by the savages. The party took to the woods, and fearing discovery by the cries of the baby, the Indian who carried it dashed its head against a tree and left it. The boy and his sisters were compelled to travel many days and were witnesses at night of the savages dressing the scalps of their father, mother and brother for perservation as a memorial of the cruel triumph of their slayers. They were taken to a Delaware Camp supposed to have been on the Alleghany River. The boy, John, and one sister were formally

adopted into the nation as the Indian custom was. The other two girls were taken elsewhere, one of whom was subsequently found and was married to the American Indian Agent to the Senecas, Interpreter Jones, of the Genesee country, in the State of New York. Another sister, Mary, was rescued and married subsequently to Mr. Hoople, of the Long Sault on the St. Lawrence. This sister was discovered by Mr. John Whitmore seventy years after their separation. The third sister was never heard of, no enquiry could ever trace her fate.

John Whitmore was adopted by a kind, old Indian woman as her son. He went through the ordeal of testing his power of endurance, placing hot coals on his bare arms, the marks of which were never obliterated. His ears were pierced for earrings and a hole made in the cartilage of his nose for the silver rings with which his fond Indian adopted mother ornamented him. He always retained a loving recollection of the kind old Indian woman.

Captain Daniel Servos, who had known the family of Mr. Whitmore succeeded at last in recovering the boy from the Delawares. He brought him to Canada, adopted him and gave him his daughter, Magdalene, in marriage, with a fine farm adjoining his own.

Mr. John Whitmore had never been able before about 1845 to discover his sister Mary. At last by chance Mr. Andrew Heron, of Niagara, still living in Toronto, met a son of hers, William Hoople, of New York, who, in the course of conversation with Mr. Heron, found that his uncle was alive near Niagara. He immediately came up to see him and thus that long broken link in the family was reunited.

Mr. John Whitmore being then nearly eighty, notwithstanding his advanced age determined to visit his long lost sister at the Long Sault from whom he had been separated for a period of seventy years. His son-in-law Wm. Kirby, of Niagara, accompanied him in this interesting visit in 1851. It was an affecting meeting of the two old people, Mrs. Hoople was ten years the senior of her brother but she was vigorous for her age and had a most perfect recollection of all the incidents of the destruction of

their family which she related to the writer of this memoir. She was nearly ninety but her faculties were perfect and the personal likeness between her and her brother was very striking.

It is related of this good and Christian man that during the occupation of Niagara by the enemy in 1813 the Delaware Chief, De Coignee, who had been active in the destruction of his family was serving with a band of savages in the American army. The fact became known to Mr. Whitmore who remembered De Coignee but too well. He resolved to kill him and avenge the murder of his parents thirty four years before. With that intent he armed himself with a rifle and went into the woods by a path which he had ascertained De Coignee would take that day. He placed himself in ambush and waited impatiently for the arrival of the Indian who for some reason delayed his coming for several hours. Mr. Whitmore alone in the silence of the woods had time to reflect long and severely upon the object he had in view. He thought and thought, was it right! Christ's words to forgive your enemies and God's words "vengeance is mine" seemed to speak audibly to him. He prayed for guidance, and his Christian feelings prevailed at last over his resentment. The end of it was, he gave up the resolution he had formed to kill De Coignee in any private way, hoping to meet him in a fair field where his conscience would acquit him of slaughtering him, Mr. Whitmore returned slowly home not quite sure whether he had done right or wrong. It was learned afterwards that De Coignee in his war paint and feathers did pass by the spot where Mr. Whitmore had stood not half an hour before. Such an instance of Christian Charity falls to the lot of few men.

It is related that Mr. Whitmore while a prisoner for a short time in the American Camp at Niagara had an interview with De Coignee and spoke of the murder of his family. The Indian tried to be friendly and speaking in his own tongue expressed much sorrow for what he had done but excused himself by saying it was done in war time and there was no use saying anything more about it.

Mr. Whitmore served in the Militia during the war, was at the taking of Fort Niagara, and was one of the persons engaged in

the construction of Fort Mississagua.

An illustration of the sad fortunes of war may be here recorded as it affected Mr. Whitmore. Two sons of his sister that married the Indian Agent Jones of the Genesee were serving with their regiment as officers in the American army during the occupation of Niagara. They knew their uncle John Whitmore very well having visited him at his home before the war.

A few days before the burning and evacuation of Niagara by Gen. McClure, these young officers resolved to visit their uncle to bid him good-bye and take any message he had to send to their mother. The home of Mr. Whitmore was along the Lake shore about four miles from the town, and at that time, within the lines of the British army, which was encamped along the Four Mile creek. The young men procured a boat and rowed up in the night to their uncle's home. Mr. Whitmore was astonished and alarmed on seeing them, knowing that if they were discovered they would be immediately seized and shot as spies, being within the lines of the British Camp. Mr. Whitmore bade them come into the house and not for their lives let themselves be seen. He immediately took them to the house of the Rev. Dr. Adairson, rector of Niagara, who resided on the next farm, and begged him to advise him what to do about the young men, who really meant no harm. The Reverend clergyman, a most excellent and judicious man, saw at once the gravity of the situation. He went immediately to find Col. Murray, the commander of the troops, and frankly stated the whole case to him and begged permission from him to allow the young officers to return to their camp. Col. Murray knew and greatly respected Mr. Whitmore whose house had been headquarter for Gen. Vincent, Col. Murray and others. He sent for the young officers and severely reprimanded them for their folly and told them that it was solely out of regard for the good and loyal character of their uncle that he spared their lives. He allowed them to re-embark and return to Niagara.

These two officers were after the evacuation of Niagara posted with their regiment at Lewiston where in the afternoon of the night in which Fort Niagara was captured they were attacked by General Riall and both of them killed on the hill at Lewiston.

They were both dead in less than a week after their rash visit to their uncle, John Whitmore.

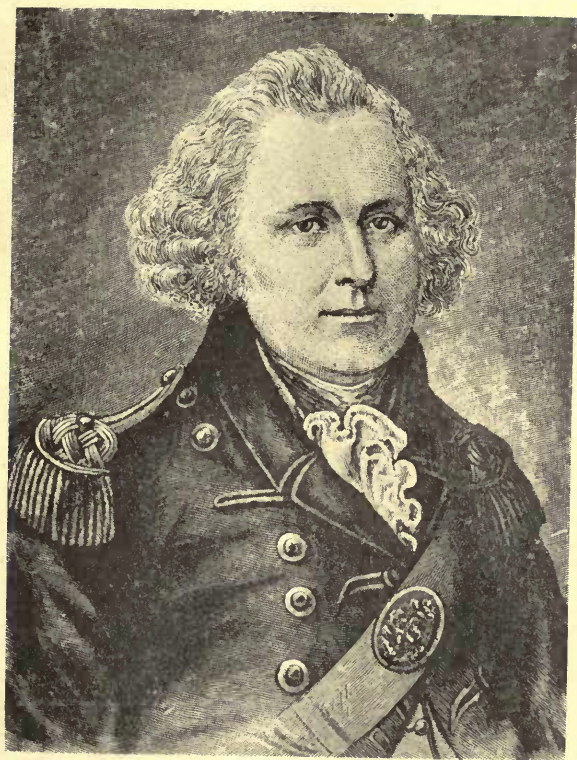
Mr. John Whitmore died in 1853 and is buried with his wife Magdalene who died in 1854 and others of his family in the Servos burial ground, Lake Road. Of his family one son, Peter Whitmore, Esq., of Niagara Township, and one daughter, E. Magdalene, wife of Wm. Kirby, are at this time still living—Niagara, April 25th, 1882.

NOTE BY WM. KIRBY*

On Friday 1st September 1890 a stranger came into my office and introduced himself as John Whitmore, a grandson of George Whitmore, brother of my father-in-law John Whitmore. He came to ask about the Canadian members of the family, he had been to visit the place where stood the homestead where the family had been destroyed. Remains of the site he could still discover. It was situated in what was called Jersey town, Columbus Co., Penn.

* Author of *Le Chien D'or*, *Canadian Idyls*, etc.





PORTRAIT OF WILLIAM JARVIS,
From original painting by Sir Thomas Lawrence.

THE JARVIS LETTERS.

By Mary Agnes FitzGibbon.

(*"A paper read before the Canadian Institute by Miss FitzGibbon, Hon-Secretary of the Woman's Historical Society, Toronto, and author of 'A Veteran of 1812'."*)

The letters which it is my privilege to read to you to-night were sent me by Mr. George Murray Jarvis, of Ottawa, that I might glean from them such items or information bearing upon my work. They need no long preface. They speak for themselves, and the less I intrude myself or my opinions the greater will be their interest and value. They cover a period of some twenty-one years—more full and fairly consecutive during the period included—1792 to 1800, more widely scattered and intermittent from the latter date to 1813. They cover 115 pages of foolscap. It is needless to say that there is enough data in them to furnish interesting matter for several papers such as the one to-night. One of the difficulties I had to contend with was to select the most interesting extracts from much that is valuable, and to give you that which is likely to be of general interest. It is a correspondence which subject to wise omissions or repetitions of purely family matters, should be published as they are written. It is work of this kind our Historical Societies should do. Printing, however, costs money, and funds of Historical Societies in Canada are never very abundant; the one of which I am Secretary, deriving its funds solely from the small annual fee of fifty cents, has had no sufficient surplus after defraying its current expenses. We hope, however, that having in a measure justified our existence and our membership increasing, we may be enabled one day to undertake the printing of valuable correspondence and original documents.

This came to me labelled "Family Letters, from Wm. Jarvis, Secretary of Upper Canada, and Hannah, his wife, to the Rev. Samuel Peters, L.L.D., between the years 1792 and 1813. Copies (Originals in the possession of S. J. McCormick) received from Samuel Peters Bell, April 1876". I will not attempt to give you any detailed statement of who or to what family Wm. Jarvis belonged. The family was and is a large one and I should only

bewilder you and befog myself by attempting it. I find my own family pedigree and its ramifications almost beyond my comprehension. That both he and his wife, Hannah, were Refugee Loyalists who, after the Revolution, went to England and there sought compensation for losses for loyalty, by office or land grants in Canada, is evident from the letters—more it is unnecessary to say to night. I have the printed pedigree here for the information of anyone particularly interested, now in the possession of Geo. Murray Jarvis, of Ottawa.

Wm Jarvis received his appointment while in London and thus announces it in a letter dated Pimlico, 31st March, 1792.

“I am in possession of my sign manual from His Majesty constituting me Secretary and Register of the Province of Upper Canada with the power of appointing my deputies, and in every respect a very full warrant. I am also much flattered to be able to inform you that the Grand Lodge of England have, within these very few days, appointed Prince Edward, who is now in Canada, Grand Master of Ancient Masons in Lower Canada, and Wm. Jarvis, Secretary and Register of Upper Canada, Grand Master of Ancient Masons in that Province. However trivial it may appear to you who are not a Mason, yet I assure you it is one of the most honorable appointments that they could have conferred. The Duke of Athole is the G. M. of Ancient Masons in England.

Lord Dorchester, with his private Secretary, and the Secretary of the Province called on us yesterday and found us in the utmost confusion, with half a dozen porters, etc., in the house, packing up. However His Lordship would come in and sit down in a small room which was reserved from the general bustle, then took Mr. Peters home with them to dine. Mrs. Jarvis leaves England in great spirits. I am ordered my passage on board the transports with the regiment and to do duty without pay for the passage only. Government have been so tardy in dispatching the Loyalists to Upper Canada that I shall be obliged to comply with the order, before mentioned, from the War Office. The ship I am allotted to is the Henniker, Captain Winter, a transport with the 2nd Rangers on board.

I am told that, at this moment, there is not a single grant of land in U. C. but the lands are held by letters of occupation and

that the grants are all to be made out by me after my arrival, at which the Secretary of L. C. is not well pleased, as the letters of occupation have been issued by him for some years without fee or reward, and by the division of the Province of Canada all the emoluments fall to my portion; there is, at this moment, from 12 to 20,000 persons holding lands on letters of license in Upper Canada at a guinea only each, is a petty thing to begin with."

One, at least, of his relatives however thought differently, for his brother Samuel wrote from Hamford, Connecticut, that "Wm sails for Montreal with a very handsome salary".

The party, consisting of Wm. Jarvis, his wife, Hannah, three children, two servants, Richard and Mamie, and a Miss Adam left England on April 12th. The account of the stormy and adventurous passage out would make a paper of itself and though reluctant to leave the interesting record unread I must do so. They reached Quebec on June 11, having been just two months at sea. The next day they landed a league and a half below the town of Sorel. Here they were most hospitably entertained by a "Mr. Doty who provided Calashes and fetched them all out of the ship." The description of the children's delight at being on shore again is too graphic to omit. "Sam ran off into the meadows, instantly and had twenty tumbles in the grass, which was nearly up to his chin, before we could catch him", while the older and sedate Maria took her father's hand and in the quaint manner of the day, said, 'Now, Papa' I would be glad if you would show me my Grandfather and my Uncle as I want to see them very much".

From Sorel they went to Montreal by bateau. There they were cordially entertained by Mr. Grey, whose goodness in sending the bateau for them and receiving them at his house exceeded anything they had ever met with. "His whole house" writes Mr. Jarvis "is at our disposal and flowing with milk and cream and strawberries for my lambs." Maria, the eldest girl evidently enjoyed them as her father reports that the result of her appreciation induced her to complain that "her shoes pinch her under her stays." We all know the illustrations of Cruickshank and others of that date and can picture the long waisted laced figure of the child.

"Mr. Grey's table" to continue to quote "for the rest of us is fit for a Prince to partake of. When you arrive I request you will pay your respects to him as soon as possible for I assure you his friendship deserves far greater acknowledgments than I am capable of giving. They have long had a report here that you are consecrated Bishop of Canada."

28th.—We embark for Kingston—Colonel Simcoe has ordered a regiment to proceed with all dispatch to Niagara, himself with the Civil establishment are to stop for some time in Kingston. Osgoode informed me he was to open his first court," The last three words are underlined.

"Mrs. Simcoe is to spend the winter in Kingston, which I expect will be the case with my family. From the accounts I have heard from Kingston I would wish to go further up the country. There is no Peace Established between the Americans and the Indians, a Treaty seems to be on foot and our Montreal friend to be the Mediator. Sir John Johnston is selling off all his furniture in this country and going to England in a very few days in a very great pet with the Minister. Mr. Grey has sent up to inform us that our letters must be instantly sealed." They were not however until many messages were sent to the Grandfather from the children,

The next letter is dated Kingston July 15th, Mr. Jarvis very much occupied writing proclamations some of which cover eleven pages of foolscap, and he is obliged to make many copies, MS. copies, and begs Dr. Peters to "send out fifty skins of parchment also fifty weight of Beeswax. There is no more to be had here or in Lower Canada."

This was for the great seal of the Province which he elsewhere describes as being as large as a bottle wagon. He had already complained that the Governor had scolded him because he had not brought out a screw press for affixing the Seal.

"The worst cheese is 15d a lb." he goes on "and all kinds of vegetables and provisions are very dear. Beef and Mutton 5d per lb., Chickens 2/5 per couple. All kinds of corn looks more luxuriant here than I ever saw it before. Wheat the 8th and 9th crop on the same ground without manure is a man's height and

not less than 40 bushels to the acre.

On August the 30th Mrs. Jarvis writes: "We are waiting for a fair wind to sail for Niagara, the Governor was ill on Sunday evening the 26th at which time the Prince left that place. I have just heard that the June Packet has arrived in Quebec, by Captain Russel who received a letter by her. We have not received one line from you since you left the Downs. Many things have come out by the Scipio such as a ploughshare, cart hubs etc. and almost everything by her damaged. The Governor's Coach rotten and sold, for the benefit of the Underwriters."

Mr. Jarvis apparently about the same date, and to go in the same inclosure writes: "I was in hopes before now to have given you more satisfactory accounts of our new city. We are still a roving tribe of Israelites or whatever you please to call us. Col. Simcoe has fixed on Niagara as his headquarters for two years to come, I have been there and was ten days in search of a hut to place my wife and lambs in without success. At length I was obliged to pay \$140 for a log hut with three rooms (two of which are very indifferent) with half an acre of ground. I have purchased logs to make an addition to my hut, which will add a decent room to the first purchase. Col. Simcoe is at present very unwell at Niagara and if he has a good shake with the ague I think it will be but justice for his meanness in dragging us from this comfortable place, to a spot on the globe that appears to me as if had been deserted in consequence of a plague. Neither age or youth are exempt from fever and ague in Niagara. How will it go with my poor souls. Osgood I expect will refuse wintering at Niagara, also the Attorney General. Our Assembly are to meet on the 12th of next month and a motley crew they are.

After the Assembly is prorogued the Col. and his suite are to go to Toronto, a city-hunting, I hope they will be successful for I am sick unto death of roving, it really seems as if we were never to stop again, Lake Ontario being very boisterous navigation, I was very near being lost on the 15th ult. going to Niagara. I verily believed I had been preserved on the Atlantic to be buried on this Lake,

People live here from hand to mouth as if they were to be gone to-morrow. We have no printer yet. I am still a slave, we have no table of fees established yet therefore I can make no charge only book them to be exacted in future.

The Governor seems more intent upon city hunting than the organization of the Province. The Prince left us this morning for Quebec (Sept. 1st.) to the joy of all parties, The town was most liberally illuminated last evening in honor of His Royal Highness. Candles are so scarce a commodity that I did not follow the example of my neighbors.

I have been obliged to draw upon John Gray of Montreal for my half years salary to cover our heads this winter it is not using you well, but what could I do, there is not even a shed to hire. I fear the Loyalists are all lost, I would give the world for a few lines from you. Hard times by heaven; we will hope for a change for the better. Your daughter has good health and better spirits, my dear babes are in rude health and grown quite out of your knowledge. When you can come to this country make a bonfire of your baggage and you will do a prudent thing to save money. Bateaus cost £45, Halifax currency.

Since we wrote last, Fanny is married to a Sergeant Rummage of the Queen's Rangers (about one month since). The day before yesterday she provoked him to shoot himself through the heart with a soldier's musket at Niagara."

This was the same damsel who was so useless on the passage out and who her master had then reported as "a devil incarnate." Good servants were scarce then as they are now. Mr. Jarvis begs his father-in-law to bring one or two out with him, "for the whole country cannot produce one fit to place in Hell's kitchen. Strong language, but it was mild in comparison with much in common use at the time.

The next letter written Oct 25th, from Niagara where the family had removed is a sad one, in it is the broken-hearted cry of a father bereaved of his eldest son. The child died on Oct. 19th, aged four years, and was buried at Niagara, the Rev. Mr. Stewart, of Kingston, reading the service.

"The symptoms of his illness were so strange that his mother

desired a post mortem, as she says to satisfy me and be a guard for my other babes. His complaint was found to be in the windpipe and no where else, where neither art or medicine could avail. The doctor called it a thick musilage or thick skin which surrounded the inside of the windpipe. The faculty who have written on the subject say none have survived this disorder and that it is very frequent in Scotland."

The St. Lawrence is frequently mentioned in these letters as the Communication, as for instance "concerning white oak stairs". Mr. Jarvis has not had time to make any inquiries about them but is of opinion that the expense of having them made and taken down the Communication will far exceed their value, labor being immensely dear, a dollar and a half per day, is the usual price for a man, or if you have him by the month, eight dollars, and find them with victuals. A woman servant the lowest is two and a half dollars per month, from that to twelve dollars. I have two girls to whom I give seven dollars a month. They are willing, good natured girls, but not acquainted with doing their work as I am used to. I am under the necessity of following them about etc. Barnsley leaves to-morrow for Kingston from whence he expects to go to Toronto to settle the Loyalists. He has met with much trouble in getting up the Communication about his goods, several parcels being left at Montreal, two of Crockery and his Potash Kettle. I fear I may forget to inform you that there is a post established once a fortnight through the Geneva country from hence to New York", or "should you come by way of Montreal fail not I pray you to go to Mr. John Gray and request that he would get some gentleman to accompany you up the Communication, if you do not you will be obliged to stop where the Canadians please which will always be in the woods where there is nothing to be had, otherwise you will sleep every night in the best houses the country affords and be comfortable." The cost of freight from the Bay of Quinte is quoted at 50/ per ton. The following is curiously feminine "I know not what you mean by the "smoothing glasses creating repentance", their meaning is nothing more or less than to serve instead of a mangle, when silk stockings and gowns are being washed."

The letters contain constant reiterations of the desire for the coming of Dr. Peters, references to rumors of his consecration as Bishop, which are again contradicted, of grants of land obtained or promised, of the delays in establishing a table of fees for the Secretary's Office: of anxiety on affairs in England which appear to be very unsettled, fears of trouble through the dearly loved father-in-law's risk of "falling into the hands of the mob" and urgent entreaties to him to come out and not risk the experience of another revolution.

On October the 18th Mr. Jarvis announces the birth of a son and refers to Dr. McCauley, also to being in the new house, thus describing the furnishing of his wife's room. "She lies in the green bed which is put in the center of the room with the large Turkey carpet under her to avoid risk of cold from possible damp in the walls. I intend the infant shall bear the name of his brother (referring to Samuel.) I have the pleasure to inform you the Governor has perfectly recovered from his late illness, and looks like himself once more. The spot for the Capital is not yet determined on. Toronto I expect will be the place." People in office were evidently as much troubled by exacting relations as is reported in political circles to-day. Mrs. Jarvis reports to her father: "Thompson Peters left Kingston the same time as we did, in great anger that he had not got a place of three hundred a year and as bitter toward you vowing vengeance to take care of himself at your expense. I think him an ungrateful young man and a rebel as strong as his uncle John, he is not fit for any place in my opinion, still had he had patience he would have had a place as Clerk of the House of Assembly. However I am not sorry he is gone for he was an eternal plague to Mr. Jarvis and his Clerks causing them to have leaves cut out of the book after being wrote on, prying into everything private and public. I will never forgive him for his flings at you."

Others, however, were less troublesome. "Mr. Jarvis has appointed John Peters his deputy at Prince Edward which I hope will be something in his pocket. He bears an excellent character in all respects, he is a favorite in the family."

Through the letters of this date there are frequent references

to lost and damaged freight. ' Books arriving rotten and not worth a penny,' Simcoe's trunks damaged, the death of a cow—and of the inconvenience the non-arrival of stationery, beeswax and the screw press causes them.

The following gives us a glimpse of the difficulties under which Simcoe labored in organizing the Government of the Upper Province:

Nov. 25th, 1792 —I have made out commissions for the following gentlemen, who have been appointed by the Governor and recommended to the Treasury: Mr. David Wm. Smith, 5th Regiment, to act as Surveyor-General; Capt. R. England to be Naval Officer in U. C.; Ed. Baker Littlehales (Brigadier Major) Clerk of the Council; all of whom have been superseded by the Treasury, viz. Smith by a son of Major Holland, Surveyor-General L.C.; Littlehales by Small, who resides in Kingston this winter; England by Mr. De Castro, a Spaniard who arrived here this day (Nov. 25th) 1792.

Mrs. Jarvis gives in the following Jan. 15th, 1793, some account of the gaieties at the temporary capital. "I have been to two of the Assemblies and am to attend, on the 18th, at the Governor's Ball on the Queen's birthday. The first I went to was to alleviate Mr. Jarvis' grief and my own. The latter I was obliged to attend politically. Mrs. Simcoe cannot attend as was expected so we will have no Drawing-Room until the King's Birthday. Our printer has got his press up and commenced printing but nothing public as yet; a paper is expected to be printed weekly and is most likely to begin after the 18th" (Jan. 1793.)

"On December 27th the Grand Master was installed in great form. A procession of all the fraternity called with music playing, etc., etc. Mr. Addison, Grand Chaplain, a young brother made that morning, read prayers and preached a sermon after which there was a dinner,

There has been a council of the Six Nation Indians held here for a week past. This morning they met to determine about some land that they wanted, Joseph Brant at their head, but the Governor and they couldn't agree; the grant was made out, the great seal affixed, but the Indians rejected; they were not to dispose of

any part of the land therein specified but among themselves, this they do not like. Now they have agreed to have a grand Council in the spring of every individual who has a Voice, before the spring communication is opened with England and the Six Nations, the result of which will be sent to the King for his approbation.

Captain Brant dined with us on the 13th, the first time I ever spoke to him; I saw him at the Assembly before for the first time

Our winter has not yet begun, we have had no snow to lay more than a day or two; we have been out in the sledge two days—once or twice we have ventured out and returned on dry, or rather muddy ground. The clay is in so soft a state as to receive a wheel of a chair half way to the axletree.” This would indicate that the quality had brought out ‘bath chairs’ in which to be conveyed to the Assemblies and other entertainments.

“What little I have seen of the place, was it well cleaned (we would say cleared) would make some of the most beautiful spots in the world. The Niagara River for seven miles, which I have seen, affords a delightful prospect. A place called the Four-mile Creek, on the side of the lake, was it in England, would be a place worthy of the King’s notice. It (the creek) meanders in a manner superior to any stream I ever saw. There is a great mill upon it and the family that it belongs to are Dutch. We have received more attention than could be expected from them. As soon as Mrs. Servos understood that I was an American she sent me lard, sausages, pumpkins, Indian meal, squashes, carrots, etc. I have been to see them and they seemed highly pleased and said: ‘we shall come and see you because you are not particular.’ I had them here to dinner on the 27th. Capt. McKay lives in their house and seems much pleased with his situation. You cannot think how much it seems to please them when we go and see them. I soon found that their eyes were fixed on me as an American to know whether I was proud or not. Mrs. McCauley and I have gained the character of being the plainest dressed women in Newark. There is more profusion of dress in our Assembly than I have ever seen in London. We Londoners think they must suffer greatly under the load of finery which stands piled upon them, for it liter-

ally stands. Feathers not an inch of them lost in fixing them in or on their caps."

To a message sent to friends she adds. "The flowers grow very well. They are placed in the bed-rooms in punch glasses on one of our card-tables," reference is also made to a lock of dark hair which she sends her father to be put in a miniature in whatever device he may choose, evidently a miniature of herself left with her father.

The seat of Government is still unfixed. The Governor has been up to the head of the lake, likes the country very much, is going very soon to Detroit and I fear expects Mr. Jarvis to go with him, etc.

There is a long gap in the letters here, the next being dated Nov. 1st, 1793. In it many trials and troubles are recorded, an epidemic of fever and ague, which had seized them all in turn and nearly proved fatal to the second son, at which fear the father seemed distracted with grief. Annoyances in the office and difficulties with his wife's relations and their business, as also with some society of the Province of Vermont of which the Lewis Allen is spoken of in no measured terms of annoyance.

In his letter dated Nov. 22nd is an account of the provisions laid in for the winter. The quantity and quality, indicative of comfortable living and forethought of the man of the world. He did not draw rations from the government as he had expected, so looked out for himself. "I shall have my family well provided for in winter," he says, "I have a yoke of fattened oxen to come down; 12 small shoats to put in a barrel occasionally, which I expect to weigh from 40 to 60 lbs.; about 60 head dunghill fowl; 16 fine turkeys and a dozen ducks, 2 breeding sows; a milch cow which calved in August, which of course will enable her to afford her mistress with a good supply of milk through the winter. In the root house I have 400 head of good cabbage, about 60 bush. potatoes and a sufficiency of very excellent turnips. My cellar is stored with 3 burrels of wine. 2 of cider, 2 of apples, and a good stock of butter. My cock loft contains some of the finest maple sugar I ever beheld. 10,000 lbs. made in an Indian village near Michillimackinac. We have 150 lbs of it, also plenty of good

flour, cheese, coffee, loaf sugar, etc. In the stable I have the ponies (whose harness Mrs. Jarvis describes elsewhere as "very smart, being part leather and part ropes,") and a good sleigh—the snuggest and warmest cottage in the province. The Governor is to winter at Toronto (now York) in his canvas house and two log huts. The regiment have not above two or three huts finished and may require thirty to accommodate them."

The reference to these two huts is significant to us. You remember that two log huts were conveyed some years ago to the Exhibition grounds. One remains, on which a sign Simcoe is put. Probably these are the huts here referred to.

Dr. Peters was elected Bishop of Vermont. The letter written on March 28th, 1793, refers to it but expresses uncertainty of whether the election will be accepted or not, but urges him to do so as it will bring him so much nearer to his daughter and enable them to have his much desired company for six months of the year.

That there were expectations of hostilities from the States at that date, March 28th, 1794, the following indicates: "If the Americans dare fight us I think we are sure of a war with them. We have lately received orders here to supply the Indians with every kind of war-like store.

"The warriors, it seems, by Lord Dorchester's speech to the Indians, are to determine the line between the States and us. Great preparations are making with us in case of a commencement of hostilities. I am told by the Governor in case of a rupture the Civil Establishment are all to go down to new Johnson. If so we shall be within a day or two ride of Montreal.

August 20th, 1794.—The Governor and Indians have gone to Detroit again across the Country by way of River de France. They set out about one week since."

A hurried visit from the Bishop of Quebec, who, coming and leaving before he was expected, left many disappointed of "Confirmation," elicits a description of him from Mrs. Jarvis. "He is a man of most winning deportment, extremely affable and a most charming preacher. An old man observed that his visitation was more in the style of a thief in the night than that of a Bishop, for

he left the Province 10 days before the time that he had named that he would arrive." Though expressing dislike to writing on politics the writer goes on, "Hitherto the Indians are faithful allies, have kept Gen. Wayne's party pretty closely besieged, however he has very lately by some unexpected manoeuvres made some advances which have been rather alarming to us here and which has caused part of our army to move towards the (Western) country and I have no doubt but there will be a good account given of Wayne and his army before this day fortnight, few I trust will go to bed after that with their night caps on. The Indians are as inveterate and as enthusiastic as the "San Carlottes" "I would not be in Wayne's shoes for 30 days, or this day, to be King of England during life after. We have a well appointed Militia in this Province, almost to a man have been soldiers during the last war either in British or Provincial regiments. I look upon them as better even than the British troops for the service they will be wanted for.

While on August 22nd Mrs. Jarvis writes, "Governor Simcoe puts his hands on Wayne in person in a very few days." The next letter from her husband dated September 3rd contains the following: "War has within these few days appeared more doubtful, yet every preparation is a making with us for the reception of our neighbors. A part of the militia are now at this place embodied and a fine body of men they are almost to a man, soldiers that served in the late war. By a late ordinance the militia of this province is on the same footing and have the same rank with respect to marching regiments as the militia of England. We have Lieutenants and deputy-Lieuts. of counties as in England. I am one of the deputy-Lieuts., am appointed to command the militia of the County of York. etc.

Mr, Wayne has handled the Indians pretty roughly a few weeks since but the Indians recovered themselves and returned again to the battle, the last accounts we had, Wayne was retreating and the Indians pursuing hard on his rear. In this action one of my deputies was slain in whom I have met with a great loss. His name is Charles Smith, a young man of most accomplish abilities and adopted chief among the Shawnees, he was shot

through the knees, quartered alive. Though shocking to relate, nevertheless true, one of Wayne's officers was shortly afterwards taken, who the Indians, with their scalping knives, cut into pieces." *

This is possibly a war rumor rather than a fact, though no doubt Mr. Jarvis believed he was correct. We all know how rumors of horrors almost as atrocious reached us during the North West Rebellion and how later the bodies of those who fell were brought back to us untouched and un mutilated.

"The Indians lost about 40 warriors, 10 of whom were chiefs. Joseph Brant has gone from the Grand River with 300 young warriors to join the Western Brothers, from whence we may conclude a very serious event is not far distant. I think friend Anthony is in the centre of a d——d hobble. He has behaved in a most insolent manner to our outposts as well as barbarous to prisoners, which would chill the blood in ones veins to relate." In the letter dated December 10th Mr. Jarvis urges Dr. Peters not to permit himself to be detained in London by any demur with respect to the province seal, but to hasten out to Vermont, when the official, whose name is not given, being a politician and entirely kept in office by the church, will be in his power.

He also informs him that he intends applying for leave to go to Quebec in June or July next, unless the Governor requires him to go with him to attend a Great Council of the chiefs and warriors of all the Western tribes even down to West Florida. The screw press arrives in January 1795 and proved to be a letter press and much too weak, it is broken at once. Two portraits of the beloved boy who by adoption is a Mississaga and named Neh-Kek, are sent home by the Hon. Robert Hamilton. The Indian dress is described. I believe one of these portraits is extant in Toronto. The second mentioned was to be sent to Mrs. Monkhouse. "Our good Governor spends his winter in the lower part of the province from Kingston to Pointe au Rodet." The rest of the Government are of course separated from him at least six months of the year. Israelites indeed or Arabs—either is applicable—their government being itinerant as ours."

Another long gap in the letters occurs here, the next being

from Mrs. Jarvis and dated Newark, 1796. The appointment of registrars in the towns and districts and the consequent lessening of the fees to her husband, causes great indignation on her part. The letter is in the most sarcastic and bitterest vein. The interruptions of business owing to each one insisting upon their claims, must have been annoying to the settlers. I will pass over these letters as I have already taken a longer time than I anticipated.

“At six o’clock on the morning of St. John’s Day, 27th December, we had the shock of an earthquake, it terrified me very much but not as much as the white fish which left the river and returned not until Good Friday so that from getting 24 for a dollar we only have 16. Mr. Jarvis has orders to remove his office to York, at any rate if he does his family will remain here until such time as he has a house to remove them to.”

From the next ten or twelve pages of the letters it is almost impossible to make extracts without their being unintelligible, and it would take too long to quote them entire. They are no less interesting than other portions. Much of what one may designate the undercurrent of history, both social and political, is contained in them. Many well-known names are mentioned and the most ordinary items of domestic gossip are chronicled from Mrs. Jarvis, in a sarcastic vein, which adds spiciness to the record. The cause of the gaps in the correspondence is explained by the discovery that many letters have gone to France, instead of to London, other reasons are not so definitely stated for those from London not reaching Canada.

The beauty of several localities is described as they visited them. the progress of the children in growth and intelligence is noted, the birth and christening of others, the plan of the new house to be built in Newark, the old one being used as an office, the uncertainty of Dr. Peters’ movements and the trouble over long silences are all entered into at large. There are some pungent passages in Mr. Jarvis’ letters, anent the authorities, an account of an action for libel preferred against him in the courts, his defence, and how he forced his adversaries to apologize, “sentence by sentence,” are all interesting, even recalling Pepys’ gossip records.

There is also much about the grants of land, the localities in which they are located and the value of the town lots situated on Yonge street, the town lots in Niagara being granted with the condition attached of building a house on each within twelve months, and the plan of building one large one to serve all by being in the middle, and to be saleable in case of removal. The dimensions quoted of this new house are, "40x24 with two wings " 36x18 which would admit us to have a bedroom for the children " and ourselves, the kitchen and offices, two sitting rooms and a " room for a friend occasionally." I have quoted this reference to the house with a purpose—to draw attention to the fact that there were good houses built as soon as it was possible by the settlers, officials and U. E. Loyalists in Canada—and thus convince those who cling to the belief that log shanties and their attendant squalor was the general condition. Even the hut purchased, on his first arrival, by Mr. Jarvis, had three rooms. to these he added two rooms, a kitchen and two garrets—the building of a larger and better house being delayed only by the uncertainty about where the Governor would decide upon fixing the seat of Government.

August and September, 1795, letters contain references to Mrs. Jarvis' fears for the health of her brother in New York, where yellow fever is raging.

Trouble fell upon Dr. Peters in London causing his daughter much sorrow and anxiety. Her letters of 1798-99 are full of plans to console him if he will but come out to her and take comfort in such work and amusement as can be furnished him in the care of his grandchildren and pleasure in their society. She draws a pleasant picture of Mrs. Elmsley's father, old Mr. Helliwell, who superintends all the domestic affairs, thus enabling the Chief Justice to devote himself to official matters.

Mr. Jarvis writes of growing prosperity, increasing business, accumulation of property, necessitating the employment of four clerks in his office and the possibility of being able to secure an office for Dr. Peters if he will come out, are all detailed with loving insistence to induce the old man to come to Canada. There is also much about the regulations and fees charged on grants to

the Loyalists, etc., and changes in the forms of application, etc., all of value. Many names are mentioned in this connection that have now become history—General Arnold and others.

“ There is lately arrived here (Jan. 31st 1799) Count de Puse, a Lieutenant under the old King of France with a suite of his officers. There are a considerable number of them (Loyalists) in Kingston who arrived so late they could not reach here on account of the navigation on the lake being closed for the season. The Count informed me one day while at dinner with us, that there was about 20,000 in like situation with himself, who wished to emigrate to Upper Canada. The Counte, with other nobles of France, with about 20 French soldiers are now residing about 75 miles back of York on Young St. that leads over to Lake Huron. There is to be a French settlement on Lake Simcoe (formerly Lake de Clay) at which place the Count is to be Chieftain of the French emigrants is on his route. He is the man who commanded the French Loyalists at Vendee or Quiberon Bay. I like him very much. He is, I think, much like General Simcoe in point of size and deportment and without exception the finest looking man I ever saw.” This letter, the last from Niagara in the collection, closes with the usual and earnest entreaties that her father will yield to her entreaties and come to them.

Although I have been obliged to hurry over the last few letters I would not like to leave the impression that they are less interesting than the first. In fact they are rather more than less. Several papers might be written from them, but as I have said I hope they may one day be printed in as complete a form as possible, when, instead of being wearied by the monotony of a reader, you may sit by the fire and study them with the same satisfaction and pleasure as many generations have had from either the Pascal letters or the pages of the immortal Pepys.

THE STORY OF ROBERT LAND, U. E. LOYALIST.

(By John H. Land, reprinted by permission of Wentworth Historical Society.)

When the American Colonies rebelled against the British Government in 1776, Robert Land, who, with his brother, had some twenty-five years before, come seeking a fortune in the New World, was living contentedly on the farm he had made out of the wilderness on the Delaware River near Coshecton, N.Y.

He had married Phoebe Scott, of Virginia, (an aunt of General Winfield Scott) and had five sons and two daughters.

He opposed the "Colonial" movement, and on the breaking out of hostilities joined the Loyalist ranks. His elder son John, then sixteen, and able to bear arms, was therefore seized and placed in prison and the family subjected to all the harassment that their enemies were masters of.

Mr. Land was, owing to his knowledge of the country where the forces were operating made a messenger and entrusted with despatches. Finding that the feeling against him was visited on his unoffending family and that threats of death to him and destruction to the home were becoming loud, he decided to get away to Canada and if possible send for them from that land of safety. He arranged with a Quaker friend who had traded a good deal in that direction to accompany him. Through some spy their purpose and rendezvous became known and as they started they were met by a band of "patriots," on whose approach Mr. Land at once took to his heels and called to his friend—a Mr. Morden—to follow. The latter, however, could see no reason why he should avoid them. He had never taken up arms or mixed up in the affairs, one way or the other, so in spite of the warning calls of his fleeing comrade he waited—for his death. These brave "patriots," incensed at the escape of Mr. Land, and in spite of his protestations, hung Mr. Morden to a tree as a warning to all who sympathized

with the Loyalists. While this uncalled for crime was enacting, part of the gang had been in hot pursuit of Mr. Land, firing at him as they ran, and seeing him approaching a swamp whose thick underbrush they knew would hide him effectually, they sent a volley after him as a parting compliment. One of the bullets struck his knapsack, penetrating right through it and his clothing to the very skin, knocking him down and cutting his hand severely as he fell. Seeing him fall his enemies rushed forward to finish their work, but found only a trail of blood leading into the dark swamp which they tried to follow, but fortunately lost, when they concluded that a man so badly wounded could not last long anyhow, so returned to their fellows and reported him dead, and on their return to their settlement spread the same report, taking care that it should reach his family.

On falling, Mr. Land, however, crawled on hands and knees behind a friendly bush and then arose, and plunging into the depths of the swamp, escaped from his present danger. But his situation was not one to be envied. Wounded, night falling apace in the dismal recesses of an unknown swamp, through which he must press on to get as far as possible before another day broke, not daring to rest, still less to light a fire, and not knowing what wild beasts were about him. The next day he got help and direction from a trapper, and continued his way, arriving at Niagara River, and was welcomed by the little band of of refugees settled there.

He applied for and received 200 acres at the Falls; afterwards Lundy's Farm, on whose "lane" the famous battle was fought. Here tidings reached him of the burning and massacre of his whole family. He remained for two years on this farm, when the ceaseless dirge of the great cataract, reminding him of his own sorrow, became unbearable, and he gave it up pushing on up the lake till he arrived at the beautiful prairie valley around Burlington Bay, when he took up a farm and built him a "shack" in 1781, the first white man who made his home where this fair city stands. He does not seem to have had any idea of doing more than providing for his own wants, believing as he did that he was now alone, for his son John, though not murdered with the rest of the family,

would he was sure, meet the same fate at the hands of his blood-thirsty captors. He supported himself by trapping, hunting and trading with the Indians, and lived a lonely and morose man.

Deep was the distress of his wife and family when the news reached them of Robert Land's death, and though they were as yet allowed to live and work their little farm, they were in daily dread of some deed of violence on the part of their rebel neighbors, a dread only too well founded, for in the early autumn, on one of those balmy nights for which September is noted, as the eldest daughter Kate lay asleep, an Indian entered her room, and drawing the point of his spear across the sole of her foot, awakened her. Thinking it was one of Capt. Jack's tricks, (for Capt. Jack was a born wag, though an Indian, and a sworn friend of the family) she started up exclaiming: "Go away, Capt. Jack," but to her horror a strange voice replied: "Me no Capt. Jack, me good Iujun. Get up! go across river, white man's house, he hurt, he want you," and vanished. Hastily dressing she sprang into her canoe and paddled over to the nearest house, the home of a family named Kane, who had been early terrorized into allegiance to the colonies, and were deemed to be safe from harm. To her surprise she found the door open and stepping in stumbled over something on the floor. Examination showed it to be his dead body, and a swift search revealed to the horror-stricken girl that the whole family had been butchered and scalped, presumably by Indians, those convenient nomads to whose credit, even to this day, are placed any little act of plunder or pillage when circumstances will permit of it. Frenzied with fear Kate rushed out and paddled home, roused the family, told her tale and besought them to flee. They seized what little clothing, etc., they could lay their hands on and took refuge in the cornfield. Hardly were they concealed when the dread war-whoop rang out, followed by the cries of disappointed rage at their escape, which had the effect of hastening their steps to the woods. This they had hardly reached before the scene was lighted up by the flames from their burning house. Wild with terror, yet thankful for their present escape, they fled from the scene of destruction, and hiding as much as possible by day, living on raw corn and grain, they made their

way to New York, placed themselves under the protection of the British army, and were safe. Here they remained till the evacuation in 1783, when they with a large number of fellow refugees were taken to St. John, New Brunswick. After a stay here of seven years, the youngest son, Robert, now seventeen, persuaded his mother that there must be a better farming country than this somewhere under the British flag, and they determined to come to Western Canada. Taking ship, they returned to New York, and from thence by way of their old home to Canada.

They found the eldest son John on the homestead, he having been released at the close of the war, and being able to prove that he had not taken arms against the colonies was reinstated. Mrs. Land had too many sorrowful memories to care to stay and the younger son, Robert, insisted it would be a waste of time. "We have left a better country than this and I know there must be a better land further west and I am going to find it." Two of the elder sons remained and the rest started on foot for the weary tramp to the unknown region of Canada. John accompanied them for two days trying to persuade them to stay, picturing the dangers they would have to meet, and telling of the hardships from the fierce Indians of the west, and the almost certainty of a slow death from starvation in that cold inhospitable land. Failing to shake his brother's resolution or his mother's determination to share her Benjamin's fortune he gave up and weeping, bade them farewell.

The long wearisome journey came to an end at last and they too reached the Niagara River and crossed where the husband and father had crossed nine years before.

At Niagara they remained nearly two years, Robert's gun and traps and work he could get to do, supporting them. During the second year they heard from a trader that there was a white man settled at the "head of the lake" whose name he thought was Land, and in spite of herself the "widow" was startled. Could it be possible that this was the husband so long mourned as dead? No! the account she had heard was too circumstantial. Still the idea would not leave her. It grew at last into a hope and further reports raised it almost to a certainty. Again the line of march was taken up, this time with eager hopefulness, and one day the

settler Robert Land, sitting moodily in his solitary doorway, was surprised to see a tall young man, followed by a middle-aged woman and two well-grown girls, approaching. Imagine his astonishment, and the joy of all at this unexpected reunion, this literally "raising from the dead," the mutual explanation, the history of their wanderings, and the final contented settling down to make a new home.

Robert Lønd's hopeless apathy vanished under the influence of his family's love, and his son Robert's energy. A cabin was built of logs, a piece of ground broken up with a hoe, and the first crop planted. The gun and trap still formed their main dependence for a year or so, till the first bag of grain for flour was carried on Robert Jr's. back to Niagara to be ground. After that everything prospered with them, till Robert Sr. was stricken with paralysis, and lay bed-ridden for eight years before his death which occurred in 1822.

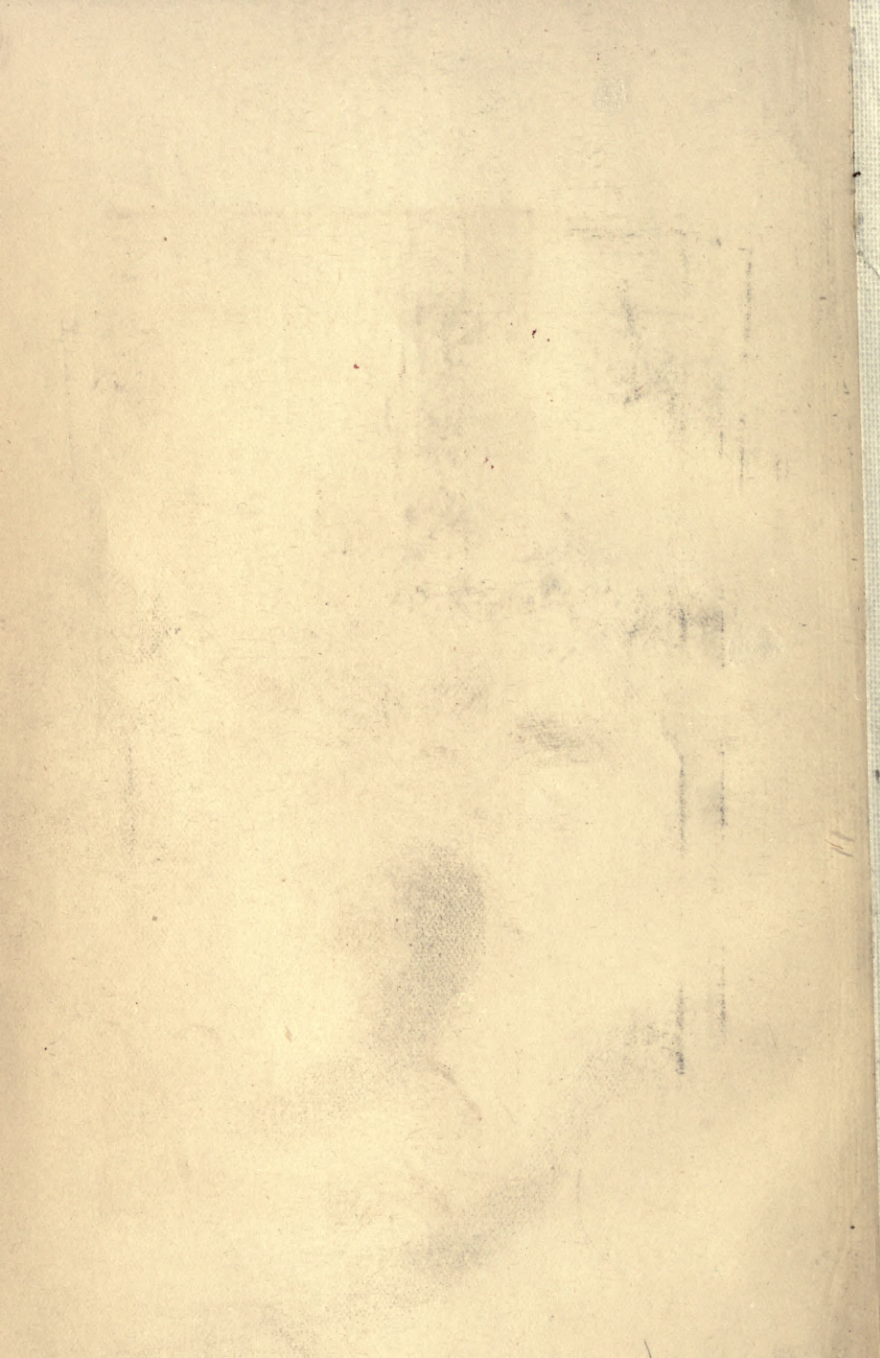
The three elder sons, Abel, William and Ephraim, joined the family here a few years after they got settled and taking up land around their father prospered with him. The war of 1812 entailed many hardships on them and their families. They were all on service through it. Two of them, Robert and Abel, were officers in the 3rd Lincoln militia and served their country well.

Whether it was from his experience with them during the rebellion of 1776, or the bias his mind got after hearing of the destruction of his family, Robert Land developed an intense hatred of Indians after he became bed-ridden. As was the custom in those days, his rifle and powder hung on the wall, and if he heard an Indian's voice he would, with his sound hand, reach for his rifle, shake out the priming, put in fresh, and lie with his weapon ready for use till the poor Indian was gone.

The settlers never had any trouble with the aborigines here.

The foregoing reads like a chapter from a novel yet it is only a history of one U.E. Loyalist family's sufferings, hardships and oppressions. I venture to say that with a change in the names and a few details it is the history of three-fourths of the oppressed and devoted band whose love for English freedom, and England's flag, drove them to seek new homes to replace those ravaged and destroyed in the sacred name of "Liberty."





F
5545
N52N52
v.1-8

Niagara Historical Society,
Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.
Records of Niagara

PLEASE DO NOT REMOVE
CARDS OR SLIPS FROM THIS POCKET

UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO LIBRARY

